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STUDY MATERIAL FOR B.A.ENGLISH

LANGUAGE & LINGUISTIC

IV – SEMESTER



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THOOTHUKUDI.



UNIT 1

THE ORIGINS OF LANGUAGE

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There are 2 796 languages in the world. How did these languages originate? There are a lot of theories but the origins of language remain a speculation. What we know is that spoken language developed well before written language

THE DIVINE SOURCE

According to one view God created Adam and “whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof“ as it is said in bible. If we follow a Hindu tradition, language came from wife of Brahma who was the creator of the universe. It is similar in most religions because there appears to be a divine source which provides humans with language. There were attempts to rediscover this original, divine language but the results were rather conflicting.

THE NATURAL SOUND SOURCE

The other theory says that the beginnings of human speech is based on the concept of natural sounds that means that early men and women imitated the natural sounds heard around them, e. g. when they heard a flying object making cuckoo sound, that natural sound was adopted to refer to that object.

In all modern languages there occur some words pronunciation of which seem to “echo“ natural sounds e. g. bang, hiss, buzz, splash... This theory is called **BOW-WOW theory** and the words echoing natural sounds are called onomatopoeic. There are a lot of abstract words so we are rather sceptical about the view that a language is only a set of words which are based on natural sounds.

The “Pooh-pooh” Theory’

According to this assumption language originated with the use of sounds that reflect emotions such as pain, fear, hunger, surprise, and the sounds of laughter and crying, etc. Some examples of these sounds are üf, ayyy, yaa, vay, etc. However, these sounds of emotion do not necessarily exist in the vocabulary of human language. Therefore, it is not plausible to assume that sounds of emotion are the basis for human language.



THE ORAL-GESTRURE SOURCE

One suggestion regarding the origins of the sounds of language involves a link between physical gesture and orally produced sounds. Physical gesture involving the whole body could have been a means of indicating a wide range of emotional states and intuitions. Many of our physical gestures, body using hand and face are a means of non-verbal communication. Some gestures can be very clear but there are a lot of words and messages that cannot be visualized using only gestures.

PHYSIOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

Humans are the only creatures that possess physical features for speech.

HUMAN TEETH are upright and they are roughly even in height. This feature is extremely helpful in 2 making sounds such as f, v, th.

THE HUMAN MOUTH is relatively small can be open and closed rapidly and contains a very flexible tongue that can be used to shape a wide variety of sounds.

THE HUMAN LARYNX, or voice box (containing the vocal cords) differs in position from that of other creatures.

THE HUMAN BRAIN is lateralized which means it has specialized functions in each of the two hemispheres. Analytic functions are in the left hemisphere.

THE HUMAN LIPS have much more intricate muscles that help with sounds p, b, w. By now we have dealt with the problem of the origins of language. Although HOW language began is a puzzle, WHY language began seems rather clearer. Humans needed a greater degree of cooperation with each other in order to survive and this cooperation required efficient communication.

TRANSACTIONAL FUNCTION means that we use our linguistic abilities to communicate knowledge, skills, and information.

INTERACTIONAL FUNCTION means how we use language to interact with each other socially or emotionally, how we indicate friendliness, cooperation, pain or pleasure. One of the definitions of language says it is the system of human communication by means of a structured arrangement of sounds (or their written representation) to form larger units e.g. morphemes, words, sentences.



Animals and human language

One evening in the mid-1980s my wife and I were returning from an evening cruise around Boston Harbor and decided to take a waterfront stroll. We were passing in front of the Boston Aquarium when a gravelly voice yelled out, “Hey! Hey! Get outa there!” Thinking we had mistakenly wandered somewhere we were not allowed, we stopped and looked around for a security guard or some other official, but saw no one, and no warning signs. Again the voice boomed, “Hey! Hey you!” As we tracked the voice we found ourselves approaching a large, glass fenced pool in front of the aquarium where four harbor seals were lounging on display. Incredulous, I traced the source of the command to a large seal reclining vertically in the water, with his head extended back and up, his mouth slightly open, rotating slowly. A seal was talking, not to me, but to the air, and incidentally to anyone within earshot who cared to listen.

Deacon (1997)

There are a lot of stories about creatures that can talk. We usually assume that they are fantasy or fiction or that they involve birds or animals simply imitating something they have heard humans say (as Terrence Deacon discovered was the case with the loud seal in Boston Aquarium). Yet we think that creatures are capable of communicating, certainly with other members of their own species. Is it possible that a creature could learn to communicate with humans using language? Or does human language have properties that make it so unique that it is quite unlike any other communication system and hence unlearnable by any other creature? To answer these questions, we first look at some special properties of human language, then review a number of experiments in communication involving humans and animals.

Communication

We should first distinguish between specifically communicative signals and those which may be unintentionally informative signals. Someone listening to you may become informed about you through a number of signals that you have not intentionally sent. She may note that you have a cold (you sneezed), that you aren't at ease (you shifted around in your seat), that you are disorganized (non-matching socks) and that you are from somewhere else (you have a strange accent). However, when you use language to tell this person, I'm one of the applicants for the vacant position of senior brain surgeon at the hospital, you are normally considered to be intentionally communicating something. Similarly, the blackbird is not normally taken to be communicating



anything by having black feathers, sitting on a branch and looking down at the ground, but is considered to be sending a communicative signal with the loud squawking produced when a cat appears on the scene. So, when we talk about distinctions between human language and animal communication, we are considering both in terms of their potential as a means of intentional communication.

Properties of human language

While we tend to think of communication as the primary function of human language, it is not a distinguishing feature. All creatures communicate in some way. However, we suspect that other creatures are not reflecting on the way they create their communicative messages or reviewing how they work (or not). That is, one barking dog is probably not offering advice to another barking dog along the lines of “Hey, you should lower your bark to make it sound more menacing.” They’re not barking about barking. Humans are clearly able to reflect on language and its uses (e.g. “I wish he wouldn’t use so many technical terms”). This is reflexivity. The property of reflexivity (or “reflexiveness”) accounts for the fact that we can use language to think and talk about language itself, making it one of the distinguishing features of human language. Indeed, without this general ability, we wouldn’t be able to reflect on or identify any of the other distinct properties of human language. We’ll look in detail at another five of them: displacement, arbitrariness, productivity, cultural transmission and duality.

Displacement

When your pet cat comes home and stands at your feet calling meow, you are likely to understand this message as relating to that immediate time and place. If you ask your Animals and human language 11 cat where it has been and what it was up to, you’ll probably get the same meow response. Animal communication seems to be designed exclusively for this moment, here and now. It cannot effectively be used to relate events that are far removed in time and place. When your dog says GRRR, it means GRRR, right now, because dogs don’t seem to be capable of communicating GRRR, last night, over in the park. In contrast, human language users are normally capable of producing messages equivalent to GRRR, last night, over in the park, and then going on to say In fact, I’ll be going back tomorrow for some more. Humans can refer to past and future time. This property of human language is called displacement. It allows language users to talk about things and events not present in the immediate environment. Indeed, displacement allows us to talk about things and places (e.g. angels, fairies,



Santa Claus, Superman, heaven, hell) whose existence we cannot even be sure of. Animal communication is generally considered to lack this property.

We could look at bee communication as a small exception because it seems to have some version of displacement. For example, when a honeybee finds a source of nectar and returns to the beehive, it can perform a complex dance routine to communicate to the other bees the location of this nectar. Depending on the type of dance (round dance for nearby and tail-wagging dance, with variable tempo, for further away and how far), the other bees can work out where this newly discovered feast can be found. Doesn't this ability of the bee to indicate a location some distance away mean that bee communication has at least some degree of displacement as a feature? Yes, but it is displacement of a very limited type. It just doesn't have the range of possibilities found in human language. Certainly, the bee can direct other bees to a food source. However, it must be the most recent food source. It cannot be that delicious rose bush on the other side of town that we visited last weekend, nor can it be, as far as we know, possible future nectar in bee heaven.

Arbitrariness

It is generally the case that there is no "natural" connection between a linguistic form and its meaning. The connection is quite arbitrary. We can't just look at the Arabic word **كلب** and, from its shape, for example, determine that it has a natural and obvious meaning any more than we can with its English translation form dog. The linguistic form has no natural or "iconic" relationship with that hairy four-legged barking object out in the world. This aspect of the relationship between linguistic signs and objects in the world is described as arbitrariness. Of course, you can play a game with words to make them appear to "fit" the idea or activity they indicate, as shown in these words from a child's game. However, this type of game only emphasizes the arbitrariness of the connection that normally exists between a word and its meaning.

There are some words in language with sounds that seem to "echo" the sounds of objects or activities and hence seem to have a less arbitrary connection. English examples are cuckoo, crash, slurp, squelch or whirr. However, these onomatopoeic words are relatively rare in human language. For the majority of animal signals, there does appear to be a clear connection between the conveyed message and the signal used to convey it. This impression we have of the non-arbitrariness of animal signaling may be closely connected to the fact that, for any animal, the set of signals used in communication is finite. That is, each variety of



animal communication consists of a fixed and limited set of vocal or gestural forms. Many of these forms are only used in specific situations (e.g. establishing territory) and at particular times (e.g. during the mating season).

Productivity

Humans are continually creating new expressions and novel utterances by manipulating their linguistic resources to describe new objects and situations. This property is described as productivity (or “creativity” or “open-endedness”) and essentially means that the potential number of utterances in any human language is infinite. The communication systems of other creatures are not like that. Cicadas have four signals to choose from and vervet monkeys have thirty-six vocal calls. Nor does it seem possible for creatures to produce new signals to communicate novel experiences or events. The honeybee, normally able to communicate the location of a nectar source to other bees, will fail to do so if the location is really “new.” In one experiment, a hive of bees was placed at the foot of a radio tower and a food source placed at the top. Ten bees were taken to the top, given a taste of the delicious food, and sent off to tell the rest of the hive about their find. The message was conveyed via a bee dance and the whole gang buzzed off to get the free food. They flew around in all directions, but couldn’t locate the food. (It’s probably one way to make bees really mad.) The problem seems to be that bee communication has a fixed set of signals for communicating location and they all relate to horizontal distance. The bee cannot manipulate its communication system to create a “new” message indicating vertical distance. According to Karl von Frisch, who conducted the experiment, “the bees have no word for up in their language” and they can’t invent one. This limiting feature of animal communication is described in terms of fixed reference. Each signal in the system is fixed as relating to a particular object or occasion. Among the vervet monkey’s repertoire, there is one danger signal CHUTTER, which is used when a snake is around, and another RRAUP, used when an eagle is spotted nearby. These signals are fixed in terms of their reference and cannot be manipulated. What might count as evidence of productivity in the monkey’s communication system would be an utterance of something like CHUTT-RRAUP when a flying creature that looked like a snake came by. Despite a lot of research involving snakes suddenly appearing in the air above them (among other unusual and terrifying experiences), the vervet monkeys didn’t produce a new danger signal. The human, given similar circumstances, is quite capable of creating a “new” signal, after initial surprise perhaps, by saying something never said before, as in Hey! Watch out for that flying snake!



Cultural transmission

While we may inherit physical features such as brown eyes and dark hair from our parents, we do not inherit their language. We acquire a language in a culture with other speakers and not from parental genes. An infant born to Korean parents in Korea, but adopted and brought up from birth by English speakers in the United States, will have physical characteristics inherited from his or her natural parents, but will inevitably speak English. A kitten, given comparable early experiences, will produce meow regardless.

This process whereby a language is passed on from one generation to the next is described as cultural transmission. It is clear that humans are born with some kind of predisposition to acquire language in a general sense. However, we are not born with the ability to produce utterances in a specific language such as English. We acquire our first language as children in a culture.

The general pattern in animal communication is that creatures are born with a set of specific signals that are produced instinctively. There is some evidence from studies of birds as they develop their songs that instinct has to combine with learning (or exposure) in order for the right song to be produced. If those birds spend their first seven weeks without hearing other birds, they will instinctively produce songs or calls, but those songs will be abnormal in some way. Human infants, growing up in isolation, produce no “instinctive” language. Cultural transmission of a specific language is crucial in the human acquisition process.

Duality

Human language is organized at two levels or layers simultaneously. This property is called duality (or “double articulation”). In speech production, we have a physical level at which we can produce individual sounds, like n, b and i. As individual sounds, none of these discrete forms has any intrinsic meaning. In a particular combination such as bin, we have another level producing a meaning that is different from the meaning of the combination in nib. So, at one level, we have distinct sounds, and, at another level, we have distinct meanings. This duality of levels is, in fact, one of the most economical features of human language because, with a limited set of discrete sounds, we are capable of producing a very large number of sound combinations (e.g. words) which are distinct in meaning.

Among other creatures, each communicative signal appears to be a single fixed form that cannot be broken down into separate parts. Although your dog



may be able to produce woof (“I’m happy to see you”), it does not seem to do so on the basis of a distinct level of production combining the separate elements of w + oo + f. If the dog was operating with the double level (i.e. duality), then we might expect to hear different combinations with different meanings, such as oowf (“I’m hungry”) and foow (“I’m really bored”).

Talking to animals

If these properties of human language make it such a unique communication system, quite different from the communication systems of other creatures, then it would seem extremely unlikely that other creatures would be able to understand it. Some humans, however, do not behave as if this is the case. There is, after all, a lot of spoken language directed by humans to animals, apparently under the impression that the animal follows what is being said. Riders can say Whoa to horses and they stop (or so it seems), we can say Heel to dogs and they will follow at heel (well, sometimes), and a variety of circus animals go Up, Down and Roll over in response to spoken commands. Should we treat these examples as evidence that non-humans can understand human language? Probably not. The standard explanation is that the animal produces a particular behavior in response to a particular sound-stimulus or noise, but does not actually “understand” what the words in the noise mean.

If it seems difficult to conceive of animals understanding human language, then it appears to be even less likely that an animal would be capable of producing human language. After all, we do not generally observe animals of one species learning to produce the signals of another species. You could keep your horse in a field of cows for Animals and human language 15 years, but it still won’t say moo. And, in some homes, a new baby and a puppy may arrive at the same time. Baby and puppy grow up in the same environment, hearing mostly the same things, but about two years later, the baby is making lots of human speech sounds and the puppy is not. But perhaps a puppy is a poor example. Wouldn’t it be better to work with a closer relative such as a chimpanzee?

Chimpanzees and language

The idea of raising a chimp and a child together may seem like a nightmare, but this is basically what was done in an early attempt to teach a chimpanzee to use human language. In the 1930s, two scientists (Luella and Winthrop Kellogg) reported on their experience of raising an infant chimpanzee together with their baby son. The chimpanzee, called Gua, was reported to be able to understand about a hundred words, but did not “say” any of them. In the 1940s, a chimpanzee



named Viki was reared by another scientist couple (Catherine and Keith Hayes) in their own home, exactly as if she was a human child. These foster parents spent five years attempting to get Viki to “say” English words by trying to shape her mouth as she produced sounds. Viki eventually managed to produce some words, rather poorly articulated versions of mama, papa and cup. In retrospect, this was a remarkable achievement since it has become clear that non-human primates do not actually have a physically structured vocal tract which is suitable for articulating the sounds used in speech. Apes and gorillas can, like chimpanzees, communicate with a wide range of vocal calls, but they just can’t make human speech sounds.

Washoe

Recognizing that a chimpanzee was a poor candidate for spoken language learning, another scientist couple (Beatrix and Allen Gardner) set out to teach a female chimpanzee called Washoe to use a version of American Sign Language. this sign language has all the essential properties of human language and is learned by many congenitally deaf children as their natural first language.

From the beginning, the Gardners and their research assistants raised Washoe like a human child in a comfortable domestic environment. Sign language was always used when Washoe was around and she was encouraged to use signs, even her own incomplete “baby-versions” of the signs used by adults. In a period of three and a half years, Washoe came to use signs for more than a hundred words, ranging from airplane, baby and banana through to window, woman and you. Even more impressive was Washoe’s ability to take these forms and combine them to produce 16 The Study of Language “sentences” of the type gimme tickle, more fruit and open food drink (to get someone to open the refrigerator). Some of the forms appear to have been inventions by Washoe, as in her novel sign for bib and in the combination water bird (referring to a swan), which would seem to indicate that her communication system had the potential for productivity. Washoe also demonstrated understanding of a much larger number of signs than she produced and was capable of holding rudimentary conversations, mainly in the form of question–answer sequences. A similar ability with sign language was reported by Francine Patterson working with a gorilla named Koko not long after.

Sarah and Lana

At the same time as Washoe was learning sign language, another chimpanzee was being taught (by Ann and David Premack) to use a set of plastic shapes for the purpose of communicating with humans. These plastic shapes



represented “words” that could be arranged in sequence to build “sentences” (Sarah preferred a vertical order). The basic approach was quite different from that of the Gardners. Sarah was systematically trained to associate these shapes with objects or actions. She remained an animal in a cage, being trained with food rewards to manipulate a set of symbols. Once she had learned to use a large number of these plastic shapes, Sarah was capable of getting an apple by selecting the correct plastic shape (a blue triangle) from a large array. Notice that this symbol is arbitrary since it would be hard to argue for any natural connection between an apple and a blue plastic triangle. Sarah was also capable of producing “sentences” such as Mary give chocolate Sarah and had the impressive capacity to understand complex structures such as If Sarah put red on green, Mary give Sarah chocolate. Sarah got the chocolate.

A similar training technique with another artificial language was used (by Duane Rumbaugh) to train a chimpanzee called Lana. The language she learned was called Yerkish and consisted of a set of symbols on a large keyboard linked to a computer. When Lana wanted some water, she had to press four symbols, in the correct sequence, to produce the message please machine give water.

Both Sarah and Lana demonstrated an ability to use what look like word symbols and basic structures in ways that superficially resemble the use of language. There is, however, a lot of skepticism regarding these apparent linguistic skills. It has been pointed out that when Lana used the symbol for “please” she did not have to understand the meaning of the English word please. The symbol for “please” on the computer keyboard might simply be the equivalent of a button on a vending machine and, so the argument goes, we could learn to operate vending machines without necessarily knowing language. This is only one of the many arguments that have been presented against the idea that the use of signs and symbols by these chimpanzees is similar to the use of language.

The controversy

On the basis of his work with another chimpanzee called Nim, the psychologist Herbert Terrace argued that chimpanzees simply produce signs in response to the demands of people and tend to repeat signs those people use, yet they are treated (by naive researchers) as if they are taking part in a “conversation.” As in many critical studies of animal learning, the chimpanzees’ behavior is viewed as a type of conditioned response to cues provided (often unwittingly) by human trainers. Herbert’s conclusion was that chimpanzees are clever creatures who learn to produce a certain type of behavior (signing or



symbol selection) in order to get rewards and are essentially performing sophisticated “tricks.”

In response, the Gardners argued that they were not animal trainers, nor were they inculcating and then eliciting conditioned responses from Washoe. In complex Figure 2.3 18 The Study of Language experiments, designed to eliminate any possible provision of cues by humans, they showed that in the absence of any human, Washoe could produce correct signs to identify objects in pictures. They also emphasize a major difference between the experiences of Washoe and Nim. While Nim was kept in a windowless cell as a research animal and had to deal with a lot of different research assistants who were often not fluent in American Sign Language, Washoe lived in a domestic environment with a lot of opportunity for imaginative play and interaction with fluent signers who were also using sign language with each other. They also report that another group of younger chimpanzees not only learned sign language, but also occasionally used signs with each other and with Washoe, even when there were no humans present.

One solution might be to stop thinking of language, at least in the phrase “using language,” as a single thing that one can either have or not have. We could then say that there are (at least) two ways of thinking about what “using language” means. In a very broad sense, language does serve as a type of communication system that can be observed in a variety of different situations. In one situation, we look at the behavior of a two-year-old human child interacting with a caregiver as an example of “using language” in the broad sense. In another situation, we observe very similar behavior from chimpanzees and bonobos when they are interacting with humans they know. It has to be fair to say that, in both cases, we observe the participants “using language.”

However, there is a difference. Underlying the two-year-old’s communicative activity is the capacity to develop a highly complex system of sounds and structures, plus a set of computational procedures, that will allow the child to produce extended discourse containing a potentially infinite number of novel utterances. No other creature has been observed “using language” in this sense. It is in this more fundamental or abstract sense that we say that language is uniquely human.



Written language

Pictogram (pictographic writing): a way of writing in which a picture/drawing of an object is used to represent the object.

Ideogram (ideographic writing): a way of writing in which each symbol represents a concept

Cuneiform: a way of writing created by pressing a wedge-shaped implement into soft clay

Logogram (logographic writing): a way of writing in which each symbol represents a word

Characters: forms used in Chinese writing

Rebus writing: a way of writing in which a pictorial representation of an object is used to indicate the sound of word for that object

Syllabic writing (syllabary): a way of writing in which each symbol represents a syllable

Alphabet (alphabetic writing): a way of writing in which one symbol represents one sound segment

Consonantal alphabet: a way of writing in which each symbol represents a consonant sound



UNIT II

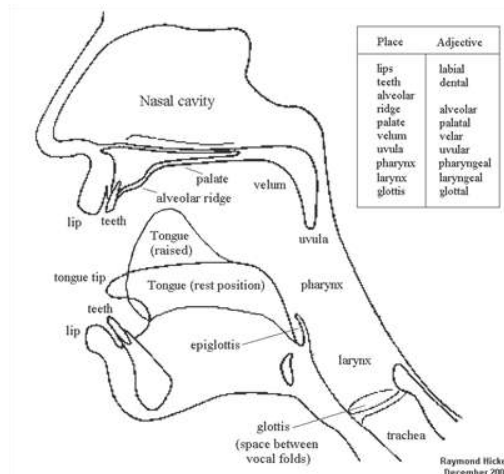
THE ORGANS OF SPEECH

What are active and Passive Articulators?

The organs of speech some are mobile and flexible (eg. Tongue, lips). They are called active articulators. Some others do not move but remain rather stationary (eg. Hard palate, teeth ridge etc). They are called passive articulators. It must be noted that when one of the active articulators touches the passive articulator, sound is produced. The place of such a contact is called place of articulation or point of articulation.

Describe the organs of speech with suitable diagrams.

The speech sounds are produced with the help of certain organs like tongue, the nose, the lips, the teeth etc. since these organs are helpful in producing speech sounds they are called the organs of speech.



VOCAL CORDS:

The vocal cords are small folds of elastic tissues present in the larynx, commonly known as Adam's apple or sound box. They can be kept apart or held together. When they are kept apart, there is an opening created. This position is known as glottis open. This is the position for our normal breathing. Certain sounds are produced when the vocal cords are held apart. Such sounds are called voiceless or breathed sounds (Eg,p,s,f, etc). some other sounds are produced when the vocal cords are held together. This position is known as glottis closed. While



air coming from the lungs, forces its way through the glottis, it causes some vibration. This vibration or buzzing sound is known as voice.

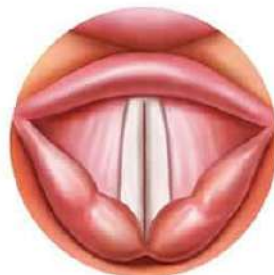
Sounds that are produced when the vocal cords are brought together are called voiced sounds eg /s/,/z/, /v/,/i:/ etc., as in zoo, vine, easy. The following diagram illustrates the various position of the vocal cords.

The Vocal Cords and their position

A sound may be voiced or voiceless. This can be felt by placing the finger on the Adam's Apple while pronouncing a sound. Another test is to close the ears and see whether a buzzing sound – sssss and then another series of z sound – zzzzz is heard. The former will give a hissing sound that is voiceless and the latter a buzzing sound that is voiced. In English, all vowels and nasals are voiced. Of the consonants some are voiced and some not.



vocal cords in open position



vocal cords in closed position

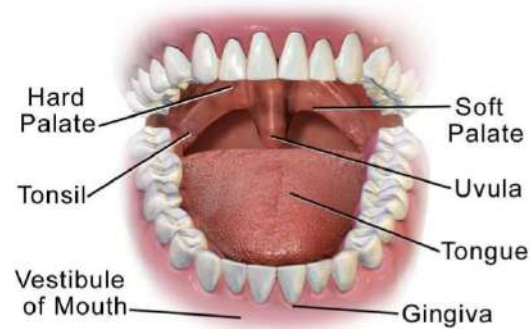


vocal cords attempting closed position (with one sided palsy)

Palate

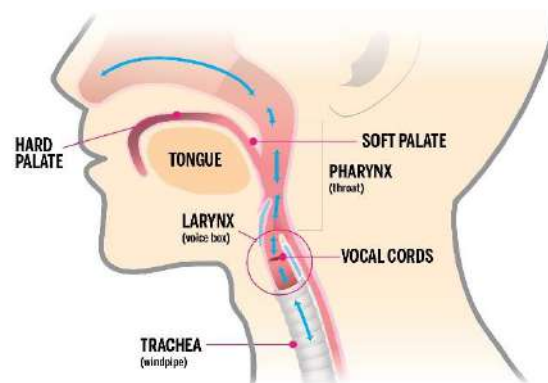
This is the curved, bony, arch-like structure forming the upper part of the mouth. This is also known as the roof of the mouth.

The palate is divided into two parts, namely hard palate and soft palate. The hard palate is immovable. But the soft palate (also known as velum) is mobile. It can be raised or lowered. It acts as a valve in closing and opening the nasal passage of air.

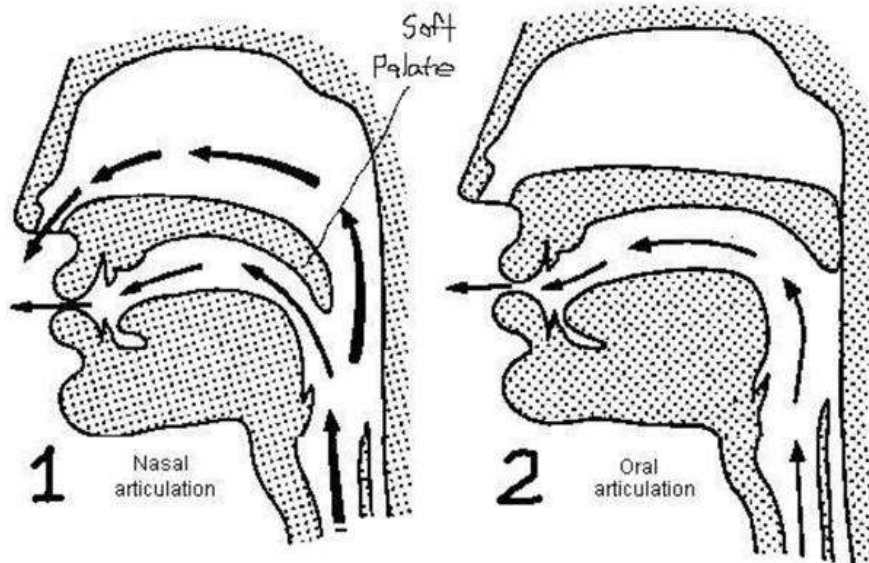


Mouth

When the soft palate is raised, it blocks the nasal passage and the air coming from the lungs through the wind pipe, freely enters the oral passage. Sounds that are produced during this time are called oral sounds. When the soft palette is lowered, it allows the air to pass through the nasal passage also. If we close our lips at this time, the oral passage (also known as vocal tract) is closed.



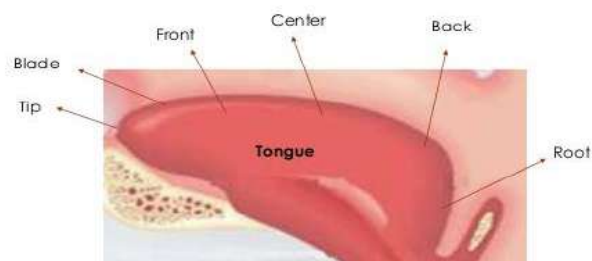
During this time, the nasal sounds like /m/, /n/, as in mum, nun, king are produced. This is the position for humming and breathing. Sometimes, the soft palate is lowered so as to allow the air to escape through the nose and the mouth. Then nasalized vowels as heard in French words enfant /afa/, bon /b/ are produced.



The position of soft palette

Tongue

The tongue is the most mobile of the organs of speech. It can move forwards, backwards, upwards, and sideways within the mouth. It can be made to touch any part of the mouth. During the production of vowels, the tongue plays a vital role. It is raised towards the palate or lowered but it does not touch any part within the mouth. It is touches or rubes against any part within the mouth, then the sound produced will no more be a vowel but a consonant. The following diagram shows the various part of the tongue involved in the production of sounds.

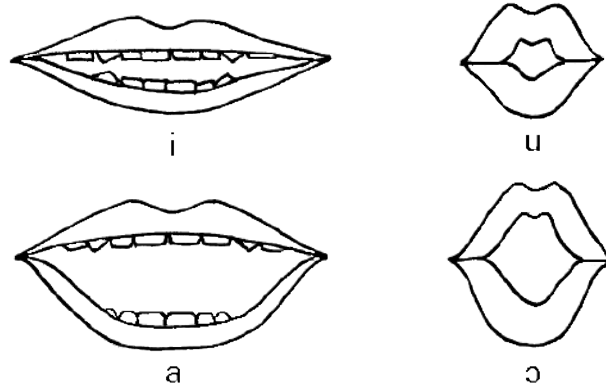




The parts of the tongue

Lips

The lips also play an important role in the production of speech sounds. It is the lips that determine the quality of the vowels. The quality of the vowels changes according to the various positions the lips take. The lips are spread, when we pronounce sounds like i: as in bee or neutral as in pen or open rounded as in pot or close rounded as in pool. The following figures show the various position of lips.



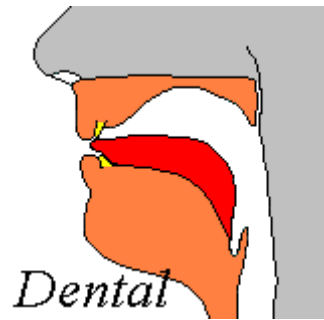
The positions of lips

i: - spread, a – neutral, - open rounded , u – close rounded

Consonants that are produced with the help of the lips are called bilabials.

Teeth

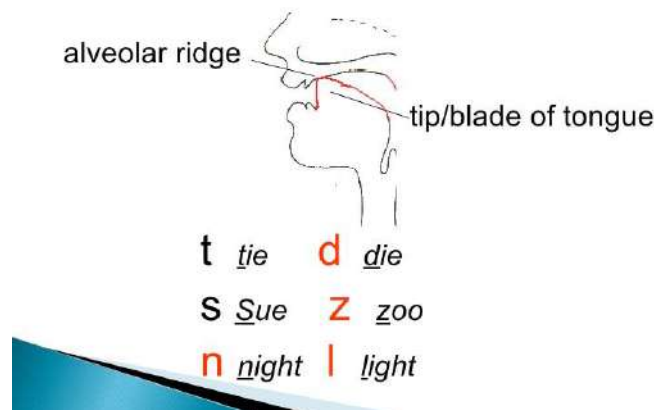
Some sounds are produced with the help of the teeth. For instance, the blade of the tongue makes a light contact with the inner surface of the upper incisors for producing sounds as heard in thanks and father. Such sounds are called dentals.



Teeth Ridge

This is also known as alveolar Ridge. This is just behind the upper row of teeth. This part is rather rough. When the tongue touches this part certain sounds like /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /n/, /l/ as in tame, dame, nut, lake, son, zoo, are produced. Such sounds are like alveolars.

Alveolar consonants



Describe the different kinds of speech organs helpful in making different speech sounds.

Organs of Speech	The Sounds Produced	Sounds in words
Lips	Labials p b w m	Pen, baby, win, mum



Lips and teeth	Labio-dentals f,v	Fan, van
Teeth	Dentals	Thanks, mother
Teeth ridge	Alveolarss,z, t,d	Sea, zoo, ten, den
Palate	Palatals	Shoe, measure, yes
Palate and alveolar	Palate-alveolar	Church, judge
Glottis	Glottal h	Honey, hen
Nose	Nasals m,n,	Mum, sing, sing
Velum	Velar k, g	Cake, game

Vowels and its Classification

The five letters a,e,i,o,u are the vowel letters and we get 20 vowel sounds from these 5 vowel letters. These 20 vowels are further divided in two parts

- Monophthongs (12).
- Diphthongs (8).

12 monophthongs and 8 diphthongs are 20 vowel sounds.

Monophthongs are also called pure vowels as they have single sound in their pronunciation. There is no shift or glide from one sound to another sound while we pronounce these vowels. The position of our tongue and mouth remains



the same when we pronounce these vowel sounds.

12 Monophthongs are further divide in two parts Long vowels(5) and short vowels(7).

These are the symbols for long vowels with various examples to understand their pronunciation.

/a:/ Palm/pa:m/,Calm/ka:m/,Cart/ka:t/

/u:/ Cool/ku:l/,Fool/fu:l/,Food/fu:d/

/ɔ:/ Cause/kɔ:z/,Call/kɔ:l/,all/ɔ:l/

/i:/ Read/ri:d/,Seat/si:t/,Wheat/wi:t/

/ɜ:/ Earn/ɜ:n/,Learn/lɜ:n/,Turn/tɜ:n/

The two dots with these symbols denote longer pronunciation.These sounds are pronounced in longer way that is why they are called Long vowels.

Short Vowels:

These vowels are not pronounce in longer way.They are called short vowels. These are the symbols for short vowels with various examples with phonetic transcription to understand the pronunciation for the sounds in a better way.

/ ə / about /əbaʊt/,ago/əgəʊ/,letter/letə/

/ i / pit /pit/,sit /sit/,kit /kit/

/ ʌ / mud /mʌd/,bus /bʌs/,cup /kʌp/, shut /ʃʌt/

/ ɒ / lot /lɒt /,cot /kɒt/,dot /dɒt/ ,pot /pɒt/

/e/ bed/bed/,head /hed/,red /red/, get /get/

/ʊ/ foot /fʊt/,good /gʊd/,cook /kʊk/,look /lʊk/

/æ / bad /bæd/,cat /kæt/,mat /mæt/,rat /ræt/

Monophthongs are further classified as Front Vowels, Back Vowels, and Central vowels.



Front Vowels

Symbols	Examples
i:	Feel
I	Fill
e	Set
æ	Sat

Back Vowels

a:	Car
ɒ	Pot
ɔ:	Caught
ʊ	Put
u:	Pool

Central Vowels

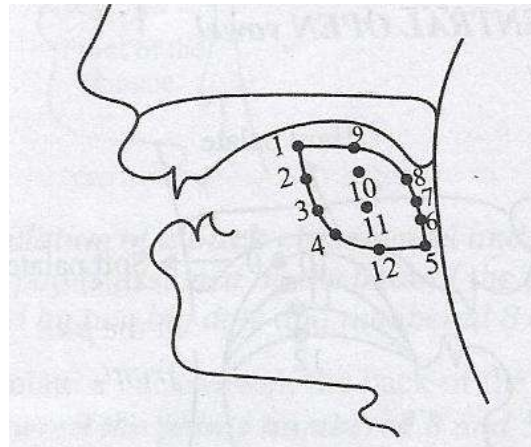
ʌ	Cut
ɜ:	Bird
ə	ago

Each sound is different from the other. Hence an attempt to sub-classify the vowels is evident. To describe a vowel three criteria are taken into account. They are called as three term label.

- Part of the tongue used during articulation
- Height of the tongue during articulation
- Position of lips during articulation

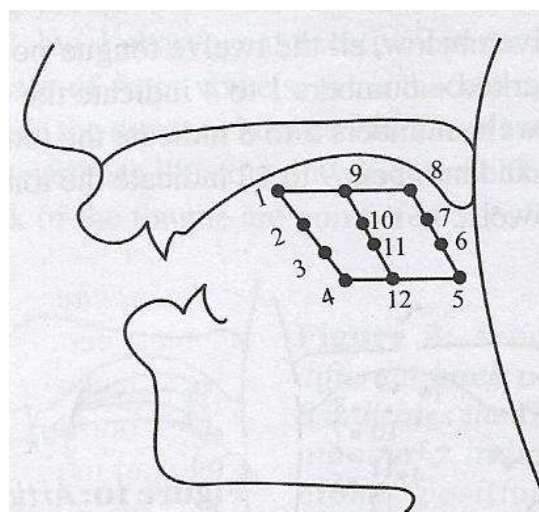


When vowel sounds are articulated the tongue remains in a particular position. The joining lines give a rather funny shape. This figure indicates the vowel area in the mouth. When vowel sounds are articulated for any language, the tongue (front, centre, back) should fall somewhere within this area.



The vowel area in the mouth

It is obvious that this figure (lines joining the twelve different tongue position) has a peculiar shape and is therefore a bit difficult to draw for teaching purposes. Hence, phoneticians have made it look a bit more regular.

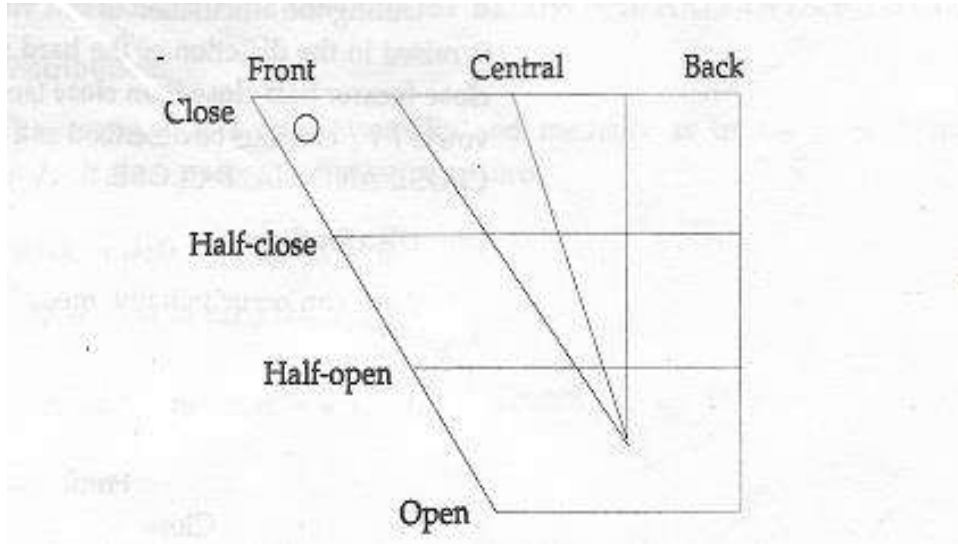


The regularized diagram of the vowel area in our mouth.

Front Vowels



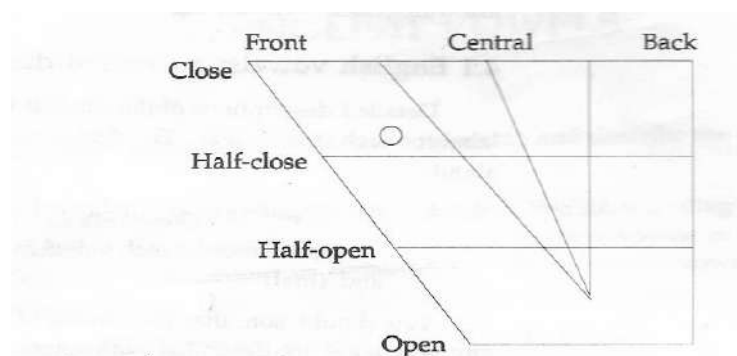
/i:/ as in feel



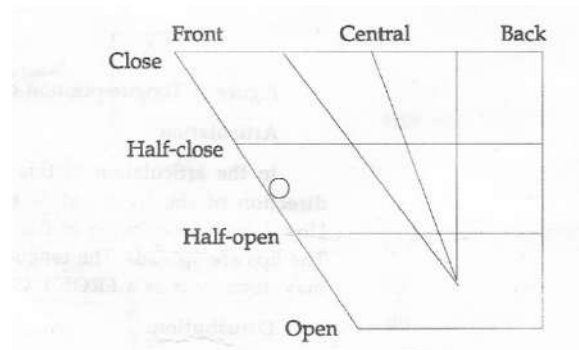
In the articulation of the vowel the front of the tongue is raised in the direction of the hard palate to an almost close position. The lips are spread. The tongue is tense. The vowel is comparatively long. It may be described as a **FRONT CLOSE UNROUNDED** vowel.

/i:/ occurs initially, medially and finally as in eat /i:t/, meat /mi:t/ , and tea /ti:/

Fill - fill

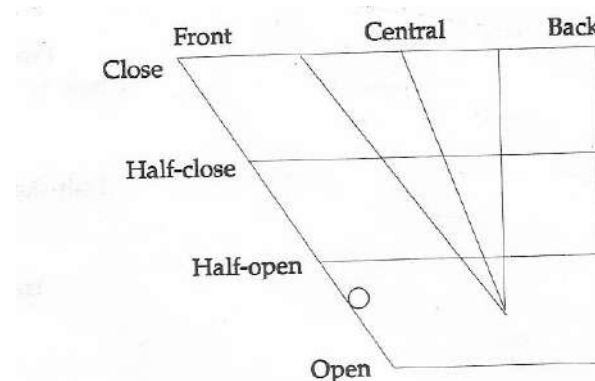


During the articulation of this vowel the hinder part of the front of the tongue is raised in the direction of the hard palate, to a position between close and half close. The lips are loosely spread. The vowel /I/ can thus be described as a **FRONT UNROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN CLOSE AND HALF-CLOSE**. /I/ can occur initially, medially, and finally as in it /It/, sit - /sIt/, city – sItI set



During the articulation of this RP vowel the front of the tongue is raised in the direction of the hard palate to a position between half-close and half-open. The lips are loosely spread or neutral. RP /e/ can therefore be described as a **FRONT UNROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN HALF CLOSE AND HALF OPEN**. The vowel /e/ occurs initially, and medially, as in ate - /et/ , bet - /bet/. It does not occur finally.

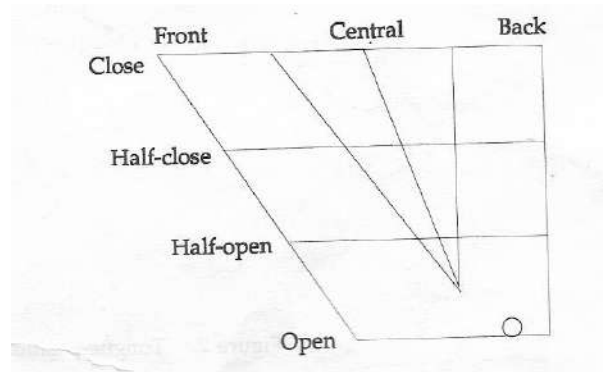
Sat - sæt



During the articulation of this RP vowel the front of the tongue is raised to a position slightly below half-open. The lips are neutral. RP /æ/ can therefore be described as a **FRONT UNROUNDED VOWEL JUST BELOW HALF OPEN** position. The vowel /æ/ occurs initially, and medially, as in ass - /æs/ , man - /mæn/. It does not occur finally in a word.

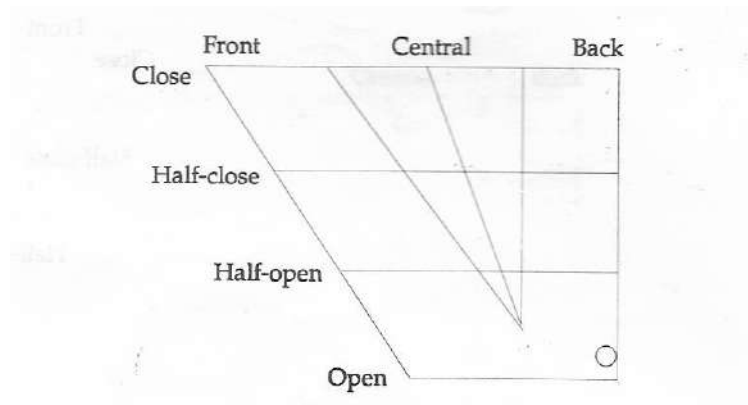
Back vowels

a:



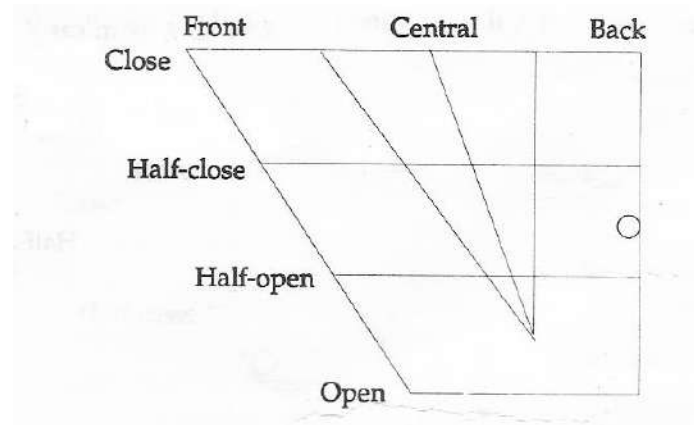
During the articulation of RP / a: / the back of the tongue is in the fully open position. The lips are neutral. RP / a: / is thus a **BACK OPEN UNROUNDED VOWEL**. The vowel /a:/ occurs initially, medially, and finally as in art / a:t /, heart /ha:t/, far / fa:/.

Pot - pɒt



During the articulation of RP / ɒ / the back of the tongue is raised in the direction of the soft palate, to a height and it is in the fully open position. The lips are rounded. RP / ɒ / is thus a **BACK OPEN ROUNDED VOWEL**. The vowel / ɒ / occurs initially, and medially, as in on /ɒn /, what /wɒt/.

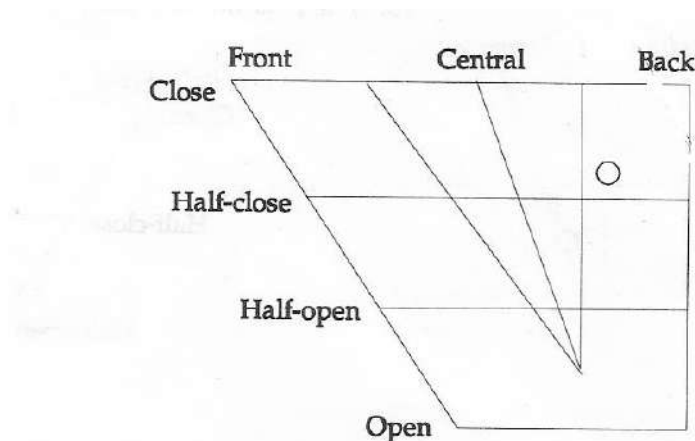
Caught - kɔ:t



During the articulation of RP /ɔ:/ the back of the tongue is raised in the direction of the soft palate, to a height between half-close and half – open position. The lips are rounded.. It is a long vowel. RP /ɔ:/ is thus a **BACK ROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN HALF-CLOSE AND HALF – OPEN** . The vowel /ɔ:/ occurs initially, medially, and finally as in order

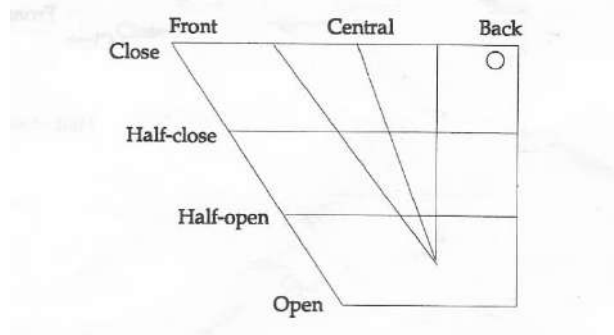
/ɔ:də/, bought /bɔ:t/, law /lɔ: /.

Put– pʊ t



During the articulation of RP /ʊ/ the back of the tongue is raised to a position palate, between close and half – close position. The lips are loosely rounded. RP /ʊ/ is thus a **BACK ROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN CLOSE AND HALF – CLOSE** . The vowel // does not occur initially. It occurs medially as in look /lʊk / , and in the final position it occurs in the weak forms of words like to /tʊ /, do /dʊ/ you /jʊ/.

Pool – p ʊ:l

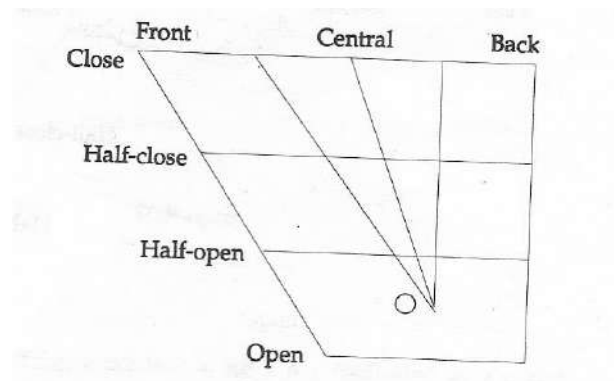


During the articulation of RP / **ʊ** / the back of the tongue is raised in the direction of the soft palate, almost to a close position. The lips are closely rounded. RP / **ʊ** / is thus a **BACK CLOSE ROUNDED VOWEL**. It occurs initially, medially, and finally as in

Ooze / **ʊ**:z/ , stool / st**ʊ**:l/ .

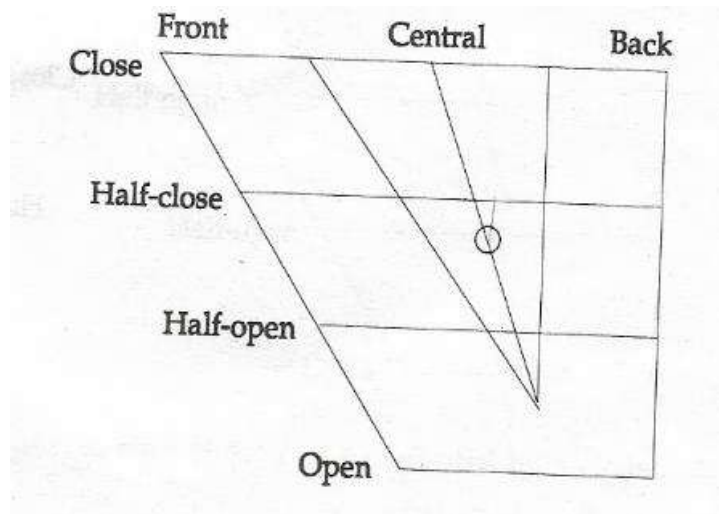
Central vowels

Cut - k**ʌ**t



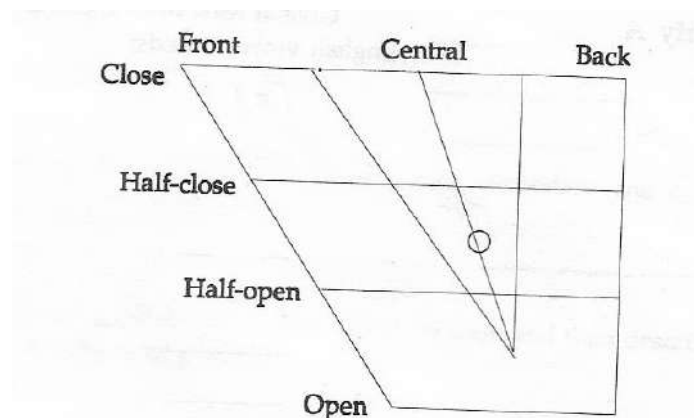
During the articulation of RP / **ʌ** / the centre of the tongue is raised to a position between open and half – open position. The lips are neutral. RP / **ʌ** / is thus a **CENTRAL UNROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN OPEN AND HALF – OPEN** . It occurs initially and medially as in up /**ʌ**p/ , and but /b**ʌ**t/. But does not occur finally

Bird - b**ɜ**:d



During the articulation of RP /ɜ:/ the centre of the tongue is raised in the direction of the roof of the mouth where the hard palate and soft palates meet to a position between half close and half – open position. The lips are neutral. It is a long vowel. RP /ɜ:/ is thus a **CENTRAL UNROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN HALF CLOSE AND HALF – OPEN** . It occurs initially, medially and finally as in earth /ɜ:θ / , turn /tɜ:n / fur /fɜ:/ .

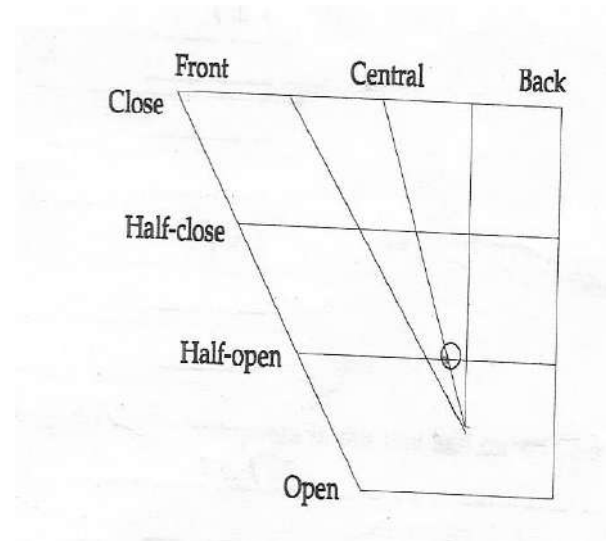
Ago - ə



During the articulation of RP /ə/ the centre of the tongue is raised to a position between half close and half – open position. The lips are neutral. RP /ə/ in the non-final position is thus a **CENTRAL UNROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN HALF CLOSE AND HALF – OPEN**.



Final position



If the vowel occurs in the word-final position, the centre of the tongue is raised to the half-open position. The lips are neutral. Final / ə /, is thus a **CENTRAL HALF-OPEN UNROUNDED VOWEL**.

The / ə / occurs initially, medially, and finally as in the first syllable of aloud / əlaʊd/, the second syllable of purpose / p ɜ: pəs/, the last syllable of murder /mɜ: də /.

In RP /ə / is a very frequently occurring vowel, but it occurs only in unstressed syllables.

Diphthongs

Diphthongs (Vowel Glides)

Closing Diphthongs

eɪ	Play
aɪ	Fly
əʊ	Go
aʊ	Now
ɔɪ	Boil

Centering Diphthongs

ɪə	Fear
----	------



eə	Fare
ʊə	poor

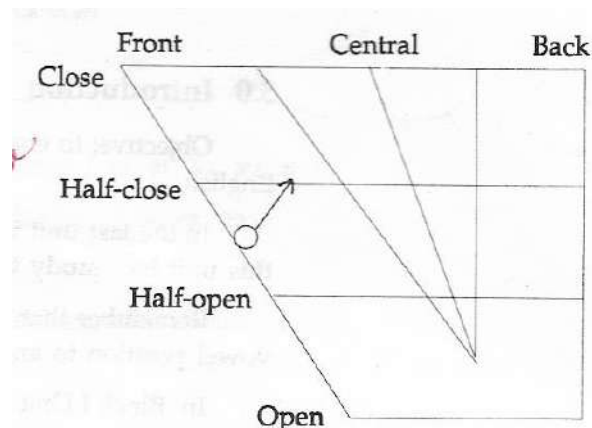
Three term label of Diphthongs

- The starting point and the direction in which the vowel –glide takes place and
- The distribution of each diphthong in terms of occurrence (initial, medial and final)

Closing Diphthongs

1. /eɪ/ as in Play

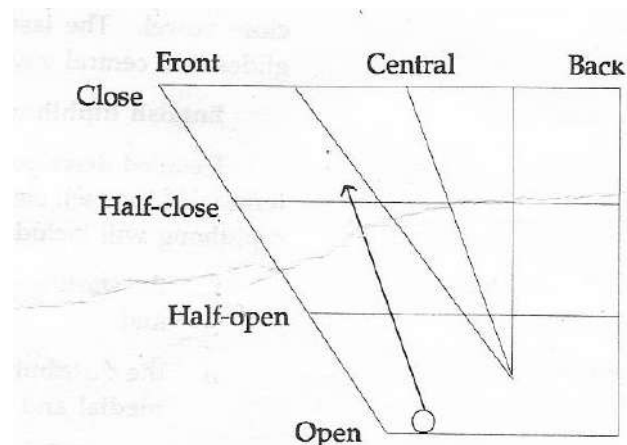
The starting point of the diphthong is indicated by a circle and the arrow indicates the direction in which the glide takes place. This convention is followed for plotting diphthongs on the vowel diagram.



The RP diphthong /eɪ/ begins just below the FRONT HALF-CLOSE UNROUNDED position and moves in the direction of RP /eɪ/ which is a centralised front UNROUNDED VOWEL JUST ABOVE THE HALF-CLOSE POSITION.

The diphthong /eɪ/ occurs initially, medially, and finally as in aim / eɪm /. Game/ geɪm/ and day /deɪ/

2. aɪ as in fly / flaɪ /

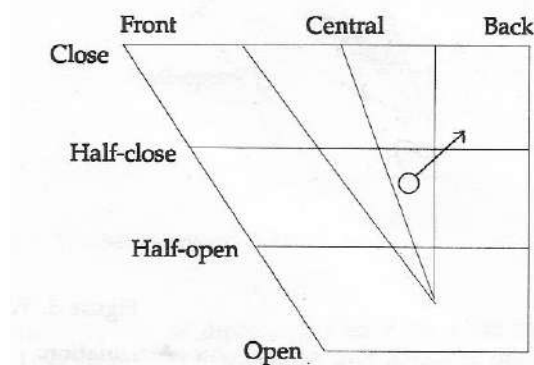


Tongue position of RP /aɪ/

Articulation: during the articulation of the diphthong/ aɪ/ the glide begins near the **FRONT OPEN UNROUNDED POSITION** and moves in the direction of RP / aɪ / . i.e . A front **UNROUNDED VOWEL JUST ABOVE HALF-CLOSE**. The lips are neutral at first and then are loosely spread.

Distribution: The diphthong /aɪ / occurs initially, medially and finally as in ice / aɪs/, fine / faɪn / and buy / baɪ/.

3. əʊAs in Go /gəʊ/



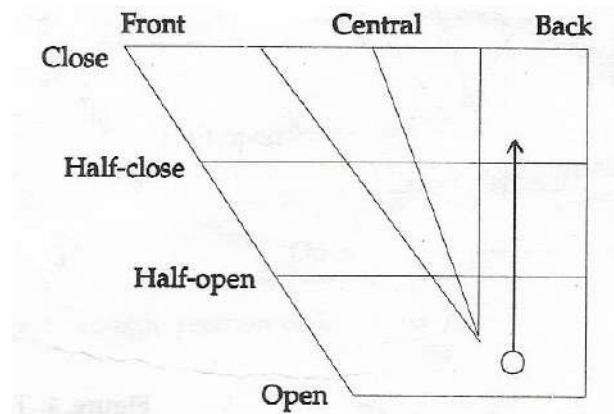
Tongue position of RP / əʊ /.

Articulation: The RP / əʊ/ begins at a **CENTRAL POSITION BETWEEN HALF-CLOSE AND HALF- OPEN** and moves in the direction of / əʊ / a **BACK POSITION BETWEEN CLOSE AND HALF CLOSE**. The lips are spread at the beginning and are loosely rounded towards the end.

Distribution: The diphthong /əʊ / occurs initially, medially and finally as in own / əʊn / boat /bəʊt / and grow /grəʊ/.



Now - naʊ

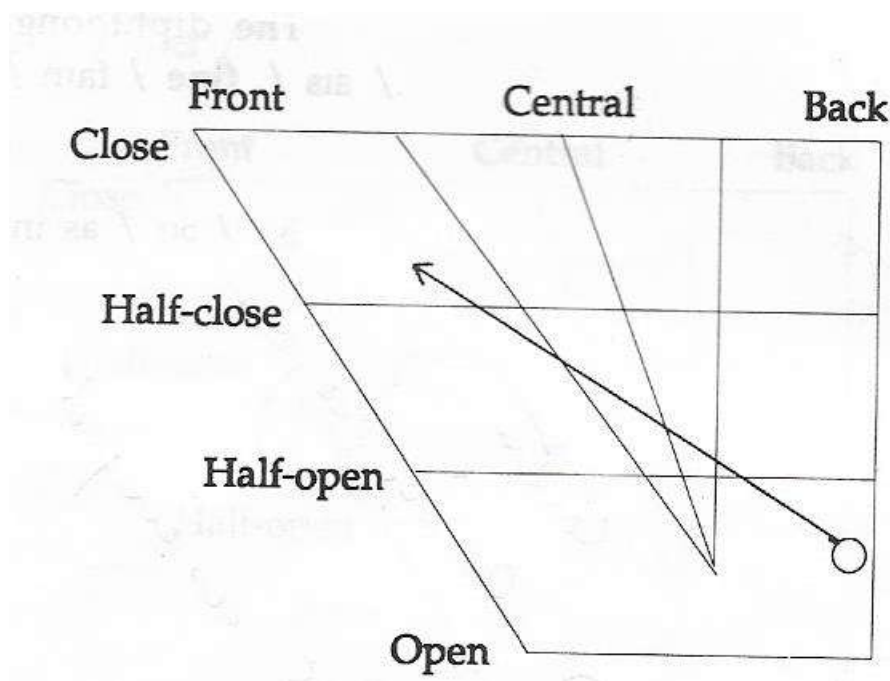


Tongue position of RP /aʊ /.

Articulation: During the articulation of the diphthong /aʊ / the glide begins at an advanced BACK OPEN UNROUNDED POSITION and moves in the direction of RP /aʊ / i.e A CENTRALISED BACK ROUNDED VOWEL JUST ABOVE THE HALF CLOSE POSITION.

Distribution: The diphthong /aʊ / occurs initially, medially, and finally as in owl / aʊ l /, crowd /kraʊd /, and how / haʊ/.

Boil - bɔɪl





Tongue –position of RP /ɔɪ/.

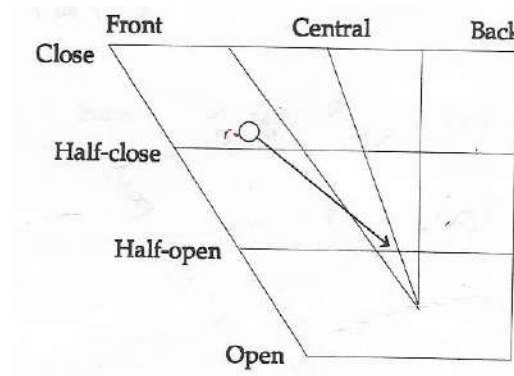
Articulation: During the articulation of /ɔɪ/ the glide begins at a point BETWEEN THE BACK OPEN AND HALF-OPEN POSITIONS and moves in the direction of RP/ɔɪ / i.e A FRONT UNROUNDED VOWEL JUST ABOVE THE HALF-CLOSE POSITION. The lips are slightly rounded at the beginning and are loosely spread at the end.

Distribution: The diphthong /ɔɪ / occurs initially, medially, and finally as in oil /ɔɪl/, soil

/ sɔɪl/ , and boy /bɔɪ/

Centring diphthongs

6. /ɪə/ as in Fear /fɪə/



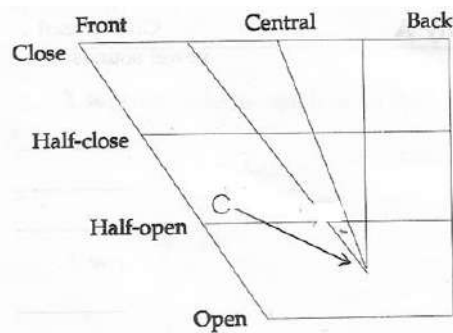
Tongue position of RP /ɪə /

Articulation: During the articulation of the diphthong/ɪə/ the glide is from a FRONT UNROUNDED VOWEL JUST ABOVE THE HALF-CLOSE POSITION and moves in the direction of A CENTRAL UNROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN HALF-CLOSE AND HALF-OPEN (half open when final).

Distribution:

The diphthong /ɪə / occurs initially, medially, and finally as in ear/ ɪə/, merely / mɪəli /, and dear /dɪə/.

7. /eə/ as in fare /feə/

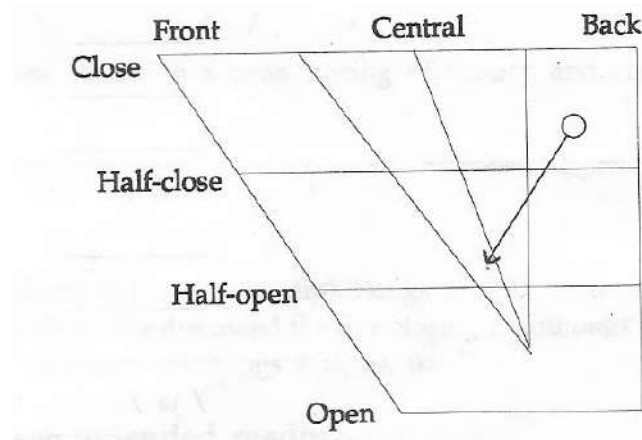


Tongue position of RP / eə/.

Articulation: During the articulation of the RP diphthong/ eə / the glide begins at the FRONT HALF-OPEN UNROUNDED POSITION and moves in the direction of a CENTRAL UNROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN HALF-CLOSE AND HALF-OPEN.

Distribution: the diphthong / eə / occurs initially, medially and finally as in area / eərə / , caring / ceərɪŋ / , and hare / heə / .

8. /ʊə/as in Poor -/pʊə/



Tongue position of RP /ʊə/

Articulation: During the articulation of /ʊə/ the glide is from A BACK ROUNDED VOWEL JUST ABOVE THE HALF-CLOSE POSITION and moves in the direction of a CENTRAL UNROUNDED VOWEL BETWEEN HALF-CLOSE AND HALF-OPEN.

Distribution: The diphthong /ʊə/ does not occur initially. It occurs medially and finally as in tour /tʊə /.



Consonants

There are twenty-four distinctive consonants in English (R.P).

<u>p</u> ay	[p]
<u>b</u> ay	[b]
<u>m</u> ay	[m]
<u>t</u> ie	[t]
<u>d</u> ie	[d]
<u>n</u> o	[n]
<u>c</u> ake	[k]
<u>g</u> o	[g]
<u>s</u> ing	[ŋ]
<u>f</u> ee	[f]
<u>v</u> ow	[v]
<u>s</u> o	[s]
<u>z</u> oo	[z]
<u>th</u> igh	[θ]
<u>th</u> ey	[ð]
<u>sh</u> ow	[ʃ]
<u>J</u> acques	[ʒ]
<u>ch</u> urch	[tʃ]
<u>j</u> udge	[dʒ]
<u>l</u> ie	[l]



<u>r</u> ye	[ɹ]
y <u>e</u> s	[j]
w <u>eigh</u>	[w]
<u>h</u> ay	[h]

Consonants are classified to (i) the place of articulation and (ii) the manner of articulation. The place of articulation simply involves the active and passive articulators used in the production of a particular consonant. The manner of articulation refers to the type of stricture involved in the production of a consonant.

Place of Articulation:

There are several types of consonants depending on the place of articulation. The label used is an adjective derived from the name of passive articulator. Some of the important categories are:

- **Bilabial:**

The two lips are the articulators. Eg: [p] as in spare, [b] as in bed, [m] as in man.

- **Labio-dental:**

The lower lip is the active articulator and the upper teeth are the passive articulators. Eg: [f] as in fine, [v] as in veil .

- **Dental:**

The tip of the tongue is the active articulator and the upper front teeth are the passive articulators. Eg: [θ] as in think , [ð] as in then.

- **Alveolar:**

The tip of the blade of the tongue is the active articulator and the teeth-ridge is the passive articulator. Eg. [t] as in stick, [d] as in duty, [l] as in lid



- **Post Alveolar:**

The tip of the tongue is the active articulator, and the back of the teeth ridge is the passive articulator. Eg [r] as in red.

- **Retroflex:**

The tip of the tongue is the active articulator, and is curled back. The back of the teeth ridge or the hard palate is the passive articulator.

- **Palato Alveolar :**

The tip, blade and front of the tongue are the active articulators and the teeth-ridge and hard palate are the passive articulators. Eg: [ʃ] as in shame, [ʒ] as in pleasure , [tʃ] as in chin and [dʒ] as in jam.

- **Palatal:**

The front of the tongue is the active articulator and the hard palate is the passive articulator. Eg: [j] as in yellow.

- **Velar:**

The back of the tongue is the active articulator and the soft palate is the passive articulator. Eg : [k] as in skull, [g] as in gear, [ŋ] as in sing.

- **Uvular:**

The rear part of the back of the tongue is the active articulator and the uvula is the passive articulator. There are no uvular sounds in English.

- **Glottal:**

Produced at the glottis. Eg: [h] as in hat.

Manner of Articulation:

According to the manner of articulation consonants are usually classified as follows:

1. Plosives:

Sounds like p, b t d k g form one group. They are known as plosives. The soft palate is raised and the nasal passage is blocked. They are so called because when these sounds are produced, there is heard a plosion -like noise. Hence this name.



2. Fricatives:

Sounds f,v,s,z ,h, form another group as know fricatives. When we pronounce these sounds, there is some hissing and frication sound, caused by the friction between the passive and active articulators.

3. Affricative:

And **tʃ** ,**dʒ** are called affricates. They are so called, because while we pronounce these two sounds, there is some plosion as well as friction.Eg: [**tʃ**] as in child, [**dʒ**] as in judge

4. Nasals:

The sounds m,n, ŋ are called nasals, because while pronouncing these sounds the oral passage is blocked by the raising of the soft palate(ie) velum, and the air escapes through the nose. Eg: [m] as in mother, [n] as in rest, [ŋ] as in ring.

5. Laterals:

l is called laterals since when we pronounce this sound air escapes through both sides of the mouth passage.[l] as in life.

6. Frictionless Continuant:

it is called frictionless continuant. The tip of the tongue touches the hard palate continuously, while pronouncing this sound.Eg: [r] as in red.

7. Semi vowel :

j and w are called semi – vowels. As the name suggests, both the sounds are partly vowels and partly consonants.Eg: [j] as in yet and [w] as in water.

Three term Label:

A consonant can be briefly described using a three term label.

- Whether the sound is voiceless or voiced
- The place of articulation, and
- The manner articulation



Voiced sounds and Voiceless sounds

Generally all English sounds/ tamil Sounds are produced with the air coming from the lungs through the trachea to the vocal tract. At the end of the vocal tract and the beginning of the trachea there are two elastic bands called vocal cords whose vibration or otherwise decides the voiced or voiceless nature of a sound. The two vocal cords can be held apart or brought together. When they are held apart, there is an opening space known as glottis open. This is the normal position for our breathing. So when a sound is produced at this time, there is no vibration of the vocal cords. Hence, the sound produced is said to be voiceless or breathed. On the other hand, when a sound is produced when the two vocal cords are brought together, there is some vibration and this vibration causes voicing. Then the sound is said to be voiced. As far as English sounds are concerned, some of them are voiced and some others are not. Of the 44 sounds on the whole, only nine are voiceless and the rest are voiced.

voiceless	voiced
[p]	[b]
[t]	[d]
[k]	[g]
[f]	[v]
[θ]	[ð]
[s]	[z]
[ʃ]	[ʒ]
[tʃ]	[dʒ]

Syllables

Syllable is a part or unit of a word. A word may be made up of one syllable as in cat, bat, dog etc., or two syllables as in recite, decide and invite, or three



syllables as in professor, confession. When a word contains more than one syllable

Open Syllable

What is an open syllable? An open syllable is a syllable that has only one vowel and only one vowel sound. The single vowel in the open syllable occurs at the end of the word.

Examples of Open Syllables:

- * wry
- * try
- * no
- * go
- * a
- * chew
- * brew

Closed Syllable

What is a closed syllable? A closed syllable is a syllable that has only one vowel and only one vowel sound. A closed syllable ends in a consonant.

Examples of Closed Syllables:

- * clock
- * truck
- * ask
- * bin
- * trim
- * gym
- * neck
- * if

Monosyllabic Words

Words with one syllable (monosyllabic)

Single vowel sound

- * man



- * This word has two consonants and one vowel
- * The one vowel sound (the short “a”) joins with the two consonants to create one syllable
- * cry
- * This word has two consonants and one vowel
- * The one vowel (the long “i” sound formed by the “y”) joins with the two consonants to create one syllable

Double vowels with single sound

- * brain
- * This word has three consonants and two vowels
- * The two vowels create one vowel sound (a long “a” sound)
- * The single vowel sound joins with the three consonants to make one syllable
- * tree
- * This word has two consonants and two vowels
- * The two vowels create one vowel sound (a long “e” sound)
- * The single vowel sound joins with the two consonants to make one syllable

Words ending with a silent “e”

- * lane
- * This word has two consonants and two vowels
- * The “e” and the end of the word is silent to represent a long “a” sound
- * The single vowel sound in this word is a long “a” sound
- * The single vowel sound joins with the two consonants to make one syllable
- * tile
- * This word has two consonants and two vowels
- * The “e” and the end of the word is silent to represent a long “i” sound
- * The single vowel sound in this word is a long “i” sound
- * The single vowel sound joins with the two consonants to make one syllable

Polysyllabic Words

Words with more than one syllable (polysyllabic)

- * baker
- * two syllables
- * This word has three consonants and two vowels



- * “bak”: two consonants “m” “k” plus one vowel “a”
- * “er”: one vowel “e” plus one consonant “r”
- * growing
- * two syllables
- * This word has five consonants and two vowels
- * “grow”: three consonants “g”, “r”, and “w” plus one vowel “o”
- * “ing”: one vowel “i” plus two consonants “ng”
- * terrible
- * three syllables
- * This word has five consonants and three vowels
- * “ter”: two consonants “t” and “r” plus one vowel “e”
- * “ri”: one consonant “i” plus one vowel “i”
- * “ble” : two consonants “b” and “l” plus one vowel “e”

Note: The last “e” in “terrible” is not silent. The “e” and the end creates more of a “bull” sound when joined with the “b” and “l” than an “e” sound would normally make.



UNIT – III

WORDS IN COMPANYY

Grammatical words are words that help us construct the sentence but they don't mean anything: articles, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, etc.

These words have no stress, and so they are weakened. That weakened form is called "weak form" as opposed to a "strong form", which is the full form of the word pronounced with stress. The strong form only happens when we pronounce the words alone, or when we emphasize them. Weak forms are very often pronounced with a schwa, and so are very weak and sometimes a bit difficult to hear properly.

English Words are stressed when speaking

It is very common to use **strong form** and **weak form** when speaking in English because English is a stress-time language. It means you stress on content words such as nouns and principal verbs, while structure words such as helping verbs, conjunctions, prepositions... are not stressed. **Using proper strong form and weak form** can help you to **speak English more fluently**.

For example, take a look at these sentences:

- * She can play violin.
- * *Mary is from Chicago.*

Here are these two sentences with stressed words in bold.

- * ***She** can play violin.*
- * *Mary is from **Chicago**.*

In this case the words 'can' and 'is from' are weak form. The weak form change the vowel to "ə" sound.

- **can** in strong form: /kæn/
- **can** in weak form: /kən/
- **from** in strong form: /frɒm/
- **from** in weak form: /frəm/

Below are some function words that you can remember:

- **auxiliar verbs** *am, are, be, been, can, could, do, does, has, had, shall, should, was, were, would,*
- **prepositions** *at, for, from, of, to,*



- **pronouns** *he, her, him, his, me, she, them, us, we, you,*
- **conjunctions** *for, and, but, or, than, that,*
- **particles** *to,*
- **articles** *a, the, an,*

Function words have both strong and weak forms in English

A lot of function words have both strong and weak forms. As a rule, the weak form turns the vowel to be muted. For example, take a look at these sentences:

Word	Strong form	Weak form
The	<p>/ði/</p> <p>– when stands before the vowels</p> <p>Ex: <i>They have bought the apples.</i></p>	<p>/ðə/</p> <p>– when stands before the consonants</p> <p>Ex: <i>I dislike the man.</i></p>
But	<p>/bʌt/</p> <p>– stress on the contrast</p> <p>Ex: <i>I'm but a fool.</i></p>	<p>/ bət/</p> <p>– mention the difference</p> <p>Ex: <i>His girl friend is very beautiful, but is not enough intelligent.</i></p>
That	<p>/ðæt/</p> <p>– as a demonstrative pronoun or adjective</p> <p>Ex: That is Tom's car.</p>	<p>/ðət/</p> <p>– as a relative pronoun.</p> <p>Ex: I think that we should improve quality of services a lot.</p>
Does	<p>/dʌz/</p> <p>– stress on the verb of action</p> <p>Ex: <i>She does hope for interview next week.</i></p>	<p>/dəz/</p> <p>– as a helping verb ()</p> <p>Ex: <i>Does she work as a teacher?</i></p>



Him	/him/ Ex: <i>This gift was sent to him not to his wife.</i>	/im/ Ex: <i>I haven't seen him for ages.</i>
Her	/hə:/ Ex: He loves her but not other girls.	/hə/ Ex: Her mother is still young.
For	/fɔ:/ Ex: <i>A good job is what I looking for.</i>	/fə/ Ex: I am looking for a job.
At	/æt/ What are you looking at?	/ət/ I'll meet you at the office.

How strong form and weak form are used in everyday English conversation.

The weak form is usually used in **everyday English conversation**, especially when speaking fast. But there are many situations you have to speak in strong form for the followings:

1. Stand at the end of sentence

- What are you looking **at** (/æt/)?
- Where are you **from** (/ frəm/)?

2. In the contrast situations

- The letter is **from** him, not **to** him. /frəm/ /tu/
- He likes **her**, but does she like **him**? /hə:/ /him/

3. Stress on opposite prepositions

➤ I travel **to** and **from** London a lot. /tu/ /frəm/

4. Stress on the purpose of the meaning.

- You **must** get the ununiversity certificate to have good job in the future. /mʌst/
- You **must** choose us or them, you cannot have all. /mʌst/



The words that have two syllables or more will have the **strong pronunciation** and **weak pronunciation**. The vowel of the weak pronunciation will be changed to /ə/ sound. Let's see the following examples:

	Strong form	Weak form
u	But <u>ter</u> / 'bʌtə/	Aut <u>um</u> n / 'ɔ:təm/
e	Set <u>tle</u> ment / 'setlmənt	Vio <u>le</u> t / 'vaiələt/
or	M <u>or</u> tgage / 'mɔ:gidʒ/	F <u>or</u> get / fə'get/
o	Pot <u>at</u> o / pə'teɪtə/	Car <u>ro</u> t / 'kærət/
ar	Mar <u>ch</u> /mɑ:tʃ/	Par <u>tic</u> ular /pə'tɪkjulə/
a	Char <u>a</u> cter / 'kærɪktə/	<u>A</u> ttend [ə'tend]

INTONATION

What is intonation?

Intonation and stress are closely linked. In fact it's impossible to dissociate them. They go hand in hand.

Intonation is about *how* we say things, rather than *what* we say, the way the voice rises and falls when speaking, in other words the music of the language.

Just as words have stressed syllables, sentences have regular patterns of stressed words. In addition, the voice tends to rise, fall or remain flat depending on the meaning or feeling we want to convey (surprise, anger, interest, boredom, gratitude, etc.). Intonation therefore indicates the mood of the speaker.

There are two basic patterns of intonation in English: falling intonation and rising intonation.

In the following examples a downward arrow (↘) indicates a fall in intonation and an upward arrow (↗) indicates a rise in intonation.



Again, these are not rules but patterns generally used by native speakers of English.

Just remember that content words are stressed, and intonation adds attitude or emotion.

It should be remembered that a written explanation can never be a substitute for a 'live' conversation with a native speaker.

Attitudinal intonation is something that is best acquired through talking and listening to English speakers.

Pitch

The pitch of the voice is determined by the frequency of the vibration of the vocal cords. i.e. the number of times they open and close in a second. The patterns of variation of the pitch of the voice constitute the Intonation of a language.

Tune/Tone shapes

The shape of a tune is decided by the number of important words in a word group and by the attitude wished to express. By important words, we mean the words which carry most of the meaning in a group.

Falling Intonation (↘)

The falling tone is sometimes referred to as the glide-down. It consists of a fall in the pitch of the voice from a high level to a low level. It is marked ↘ (The pitch of the voice falls at the end of the sentence.) Falling intonation is the most common intonation pattern in English. It is commonly found in statements, commands, wh-questions (information questions), confirmatory question tags and exclamations.

1. Ordinary Statements without any implication.

- Nice to meet ↘you.
- I'll be back in a ↘minute.
- She doesn't live here ↘anymore.
- Dad wants to change his ↘car.
- Here is the weather ↘forecast.
- Cloudy weather is expected at the end of the ↘week.
- We should work together more ↘often



- I'm going for a walk in the ↘park.

2. **Commands**

- Write your name ↘here.
- Show me what you've ↘written.
- Leave it on the ↘desk.
- Take that picture ↘ down.
- Throw that ↘out.
- Put your books on the ↘table.
- Take your hands out of your ↘pockets.

3. **Wh- questions** (requesting information.)

(questions beginning with 'who', 'what', 'why', 'where', 'when', 'which', and 'how')

- What country do you come ↘from?
- Where do you ↘work?
- Which of them do you ↘prefer?
- When does the shop ↘open?
- How many books have you ↘bought?
- Which coat is ↘yours?
- Whose bag is ↘this?

4. **Questions Tags that are statements requesting confirmation rather than questions.**

Not all tag questions are really questions.

Some of them merely ask for confirmation or invite agreement, in which case we use a falling tone at the end.

- He thinks he's so clever, doesn't ↘he?
- She's such a nuisance, isn't ↘she?
- I failed the test because I didn't revise, did ↘ I?
- It doesn't seem to bother him much, does ↘ it?



5. Exclamations

- How nice of ↘ you!
- That's just what I ↘need!
- You don't ↘ say!
- What a beautiful ↘ voice!
- That's a ↘surprise!

Rhetorical Questions

Isn't that ↘ kind of her?

Wasn't that a ↘difficult exam?

Rising Intonation (↗)

The rising tone is sometimes referred to as the glide- up . It consists of a rise in the pitch of the voice from a low level to a high level. It is marked ↗ (The pitch of the voice rises at the end of a sentence.)

Rising intonation invites the speaker to continue talking.

It is normally used with yes/no questions, and question tags that are real questions.

1. Yes/no Questions

(Questions that can be answered by 'yes' or 'no'.)

- Do you like your new ↗teacher?
- Have you finished ↗already?
- May I borrow your ↗dictionary?
- Do you have any ↗magazines?
- Do you sell ↗stamps?

2. Questions tags that show uncertainty and require an answer (real questions).

- We've met already, ↗haven't we?
- You like fish, ↗don't you?
- You're a new student ↗aren't you?
- The view is beautiful, ↗isn't it?



3. Incomplete Sentence

Its seven o'clock (and she hasn't got up as yet).

I 'll buy you a dress (if I go there).

4. Non –Polarity Questions when said in a warm/friendly way.

How's your daughter?

What is the matter?

5. Polite Requests

Go and Open the window.

Take it a way.

6. Repetition Questions

(John told me to do it)

Who told you?

7. Expected Responses

Thank you.

8. Alternative Questions

Do you like tea, coffee, or coke?

Shall we drive or go by train?

9. Enumeration

One, Two, three, four, five

10. After Thought doubt or hesitation

- I'd buy a new one, if I could afford it.
- In spring it rains a lot generally.

11. Greetings , partings, apologies , encouragement

- Hello
- Good bye
- I'm so sorry
- You ought to keep on trying.



We sometimes use a combination of rising and falling intonation in the same sentence.

The combination is called Rise-Fall or Fall-Rise intonation.

Rise-Fall Intonation (↗↘)

(The intonation rises and then falls.)

We use rise-fall intonation for choices, lists, unfinished thoughts and conditional sentences.

Choices (alternative questions.)

- Are you having ↗soup or ↘salad?
- Is John leaving on ↗Thursday or ↘Friday?
- Does he speak ↗German or ↘French?
- Is your name ↗Ava or ↘Eva?

Lists (rising, rising, rising, falling)

Intonation falls on the last item to show that the list is finished.

- We've got ↗apples, pears, bananas and ↘oranges
- The sweater comes in ↗blue, white pink and ↘black
- I like ↗football, tennis, basketball and ↘volleyball.
- I bought ↗a tee-shirt, a skirt and a ↘handbag.

Unfinished thoughts (partial statements)

In the responses to the following questions, the rise-fall intonation indicates reservation.

The speaker hesitates to fully express his/her thoughts.

- Do you like my new handbag? Well the ↗leather is ↘nice... (but I don't like it.)
- What was the meal like? Hmm, the ↗fish was ↘good... (but the rest wasn't great).
- So you both live in Los Angeles? Well ↗Alex ↘does ... (but I don't).



Conditional sentences

(The tone rises in the first clause and falls gradually in the second clause.)

- If he ↗calls, ask him to leave a ↘message.
- Unless he ↗insists, I'm not going to ↘go.
- If you have any ↗problems, just ↘contact us.

Fall-Rise Intonation (↘↗)

(The voice falls and rises *usually within one word*.)

The main function of fall-rise intonation is to show that the speaker is not certain of the answer they are giving to a question, or is reluctant to reply (as opposed to a falling tone used when there is no hesitation). It is also used in polite requests or suggestions.

Hesitation/reluctance:

- So you'd be willing to confirm that? ...Well ... I ↘sup↗pose so ...
- You didn't see him on Monday? I don't quite ↘re↗member ...

Politeness-Doubt-Uncertainty: (You are not sure what the answer might be.)

- Perhaps we could ↘vis↗it the place?
- Should we ↘cop↗y the list?
- Do you think it's ↘al↗lowed?



UNIT IV

MORPHEME, WORD

In traditional grammar, words are the basic units of analysis. Grammarians classify words according to their parts of speech and identify and list the forms that words can show up in. Although the matter is really very complex, for the sake of simplicity we will begin with the assumption that we are all generally able to distinguish words from other linguistic units. It will be sufficient for our initial purposes if we assume that words are the main units used for entries in dictionaries. In a later section, we will briefly describe some of their distinctive characteristics. Words are potentially complex units, composed of even more basic units, called morphemes. A morpheme is the smallest part of a word that has grammatical function or meaning (NB not the smallest unit of meaning); we will designate them in braces—{ }. For example, sawed, sawn, sawing, and saws can all be analyzed into the morphemes {saw} + {-ed}, {-n}, {-ing}, and {-s}, respectively. None of these last four can be further divided into meaningful units and each occurs in many other words, such as looked, mown, coughing, bakes. {Saw} can occur on its own as a word; it does not have to be attached to another morpheme. It is a free morpheme. However, none of the other morphemes listed just above is free. Each must be affixed (attached) to some other unit; each can only occur as a part of a word. Morphemes that must be attached as word parts are said to be bound. Affixes are classified according to whether they are attached before or after the form to which they are added. Prefixes are attached before and suffixes after. The bound morphemes listed earlier are all suffixes; the {re-} foresaw is a prefix.

Root, derivational, and inflectional morphemes:

Besides being bound or free, morphemes can also be classified as root, derivational, or inflectional. A root morpheme is the basic form to which other morphemes are attached. It provides the basic meaning of the word. The morpheme {saw} is the root of sawers. Derivational morphemes are added to forms to create separate words: {-er} is a derivational suffix whose addition turns a verb into a noun, usually meaning the person or thing that performs the action denoted by the verb. For example, {paint}+{-er} creates painter, one of whose meanings is “someone who paints.” Inflectional morphemes do not create separate words. They merely modify the word in which they occur in order to indicate grammatical properties such as plurality, as the {-s} of magazines does, or past tense, as the {ed} of babecued does. English has eight inflectional



morphemes, which we will describe below. We can regard the root of a word as the morpheme left over when all the derivational and inflectional morphemes have been removed. For example, in immovability, {im-}, {-abil}, and {-ity} are all derivational morphemes, and when we remove them we are left with {move}, which cannot be further divided into meaningful pieces, and so must be the word's root. We must distinguish between a word's root and the forms to which affixes are attached. In moveable, {-able} is attached to {move}, which we've determined is the word's root. However, {im-} is attached to moveable, not to {move} (there is no word immove), but moveable is not a root. Expressions to which affixes are attached are called bases. While roots may be bases, bases are not always roots. morphemes, allomorphs, and morphs The English plural morpheme {-s} can be expressed by three different but

Morphology and Word Formation: clearly related phonemic forms /ɹz/ or /ɹz/, /z/, and /s/. These three have in common not only their meaning, but also the fact that each contains an alveolar fricative phoneme, either /s/ or /z/. The three forms are in complementary distribution, because each occurs where the others cannot, and it is possible to predict just where each occurs: /ɹz/ after sibilants (/s, z, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ/), /z/ after voiced segments, and /s/ everywhere else. Given the semantic and phonological similarities between the three forms and the fact that they are in complementary distribution, it is reasonable to view them as contextual pronunciation variants of a single entity. In parallel with phonology, we will refer to the entity of which the three are variant representations as a morpheme, and the variant forms of a given morpheme as its allomorphs. When we wish to refer to a minimal grammatical form merely as a form, we will use the term morph. Compare these terms and the concepts behind them with phoneme, allophone, and phone.

Words:

Words are notoriously difficult entities to define, both in universal and inlanguage specific terms. Like most linguistic entities, they look in two directions—upward toward larger units of which they are parts (toward phrases), and downward toward their constituent morphemes. This, however, only helps us understand words if we already understand how they are combined into larger units or divided into smaller ones, so we will briefly discuss several other criteria that have been proposed for identifying them. One possible criterion is spelling: in written English text, we tend to regard as a word any expression that has no spaces within it and is separated by spaces from other expressions. While this is a very useful criterion, it does sometimes lead to inconsistent and unsatisfactory



results. For instance, cannot is spelled as one word but might not as two; compounds (words composed of two or more words; see below) are inconsistently divided (cf. influx, in-laws, goose flesh, low income vs. low-income). Words tend to resist interruption; we cannot freely insert pieces into words as we do into sentences. For example, we cannot separate the root of a word from its inflectional ending by inserting another word, as in *sock-blue-s for blue socks. Sentences, in contrast, can be interrupted. We can insert adverbials between subjects and predicates: John quickly erased his fingerprints. By definition, we can also insert the traditional interjections: We will, I believe, have rain later today. In English, though by no means in all languages, the order of elements in words is quite fixed. English inflections, for example, are suffixes and are added after any derivational morphemes in a word. At higher levels in the language, different orders of elements can differ in meaning. But we do not contrast words with prefixed inflections with words with suffixed inflections. English does not contrast, for example, piece + s with s + piece. In English, too, it is specific individual words that select for certain inflections. Thus the word child is pluralized by adding {-ren}, ox by adding {-en}. So if a form takes the {-en} plural, it must be a word. So words are units composed of one or more morphemes; they are also the units of which phrases are composed.

English inflectional morphology

Inflectional morphemes, as we noted earlier, alter the form of a word in order to indicate certain grammatical properties. English has only eight inflectional morphemes, listed in Table 1, along with the properties they indicate. Except for {-en}, the forms we list in Table 1 are the regular English inflections. They are regular because they are the inflections added to the vast majority of verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs to indicate grammatical properties such as tense, number, and degree. They are also the inflections we typically add to new words coming into the language, for example, we add {-s} to the noun throughout to make it plural. When we borrow words from other languages, in most cases we add the regular English inflections to them rather than borrow the inflections they had in their home languages; for example, we pluralize operetta as operettas rather than as operette as Italian does; similarly, we sing oratorios rather than oratori. The regular inflections are the default inflections that learners tend to use when they don't know the correct ones (for example, grewed rather than grew).
nouns: {-s} plural (the birds) noun phrases: {-s} genitive/possessive (the bird's song) adjectives/adverbs: {-er} comparative (faster) {-est} superlative (fastest) verbs: {-s} 3rd person singular present tense (proves) {-ed} past tense (proved)



{-ing} progressive/present participle (is proving) {-en} past participle (has proven) (was proven)

[Note: the regular past participle morpheme is {-ed}, identical to the past tense form {-ed}. We use the irregular past participle form {-en} to distinguish the two.]

However, because of its long and complex history, English (like all languages) has many irregular forms, which may be irregular in a variety of ways. First, irregular words may use different inflections than regular ones: for example, the modern past participle inflection of a regular verb is {-ed}, but the past participle of freeze is frozen and the past participle of break is broken. Second, irregular forms may involve internal vowel changes, as in man/men, woman/women, grow/grew, ring/rang/rung. Third, some forms derive from historically unrelated forms: went, the past tense of go, historically was the past tense of a different verb, wend. This sort of realignment is known as suppletion. Other examples of suppletion include good, better, and best, and bad, worse, and worst. (As an exercise, you might look up be, am, and is in a dictionary that provides etymological information, such as the American Heritage.) Fourth, some words show no inflectional change: sheep is both singular and plural; hit is both present and past tense, as well as past participle. Fifth, many borrowed words, especially nouns, have irregular inflected forms: alumnae and cherubim are the plurals of alumna and cherub, respectively. Irregular forms demonstrate the abstract status of morphemes. Thus the word men realizes (represents, makes real) the two morphemes {man} and {plural}; women realizes {woman} and {plural}; went realizes {go} and {past tense}. Most grammar and writing textbooks contain long lists of these exceptions. As a final issue here we must note that different groups of English speakers use different inflected forms of words, especially of verbs. When this is the case, the standard variety of the language typically selects one and rejects the others as non-standard, or, illogically, as “not English,” or worse. For example, many English speakers use a single form of be in the past tense (was) regardless of what the subject of its clause is. So they will say, We was there yesterday.



English derivational morphology

Derivation is the process of creating separate but morphologically related words. Typically, but not always, it involves one or more changes in form. It can involve prefixing, as in resaw, and suffixing, as in sawing, sawer, sawable. Another type of derivation, while not visible, is at least audible. It involves a change in the position of the primary stress in a word. Compare:

1. □ permit (noun) per□ mit (verb)
 - □ contact (noun) con□ tact (verb)
 - □ perfect (adj.) per□ fect (verb)
 - □ convert (noun) con□ vert (verb)

In some derivationally related word pairs, only a feature of the final con-sonant changes, usually its voicing:

2. advice advise /s/ □ /z/
Belief believe /f/ □ /v/
mouth mouthed /□/ □ /□/
Breath breathe /□/ □ /□/

In some cases adding a derivational morpheme induces a change in a stressed vowel:

3. divine divinity /a□/ □ /□/
profane profanity /e/ □ /□/
serene serenity /i/ □ /□/

In other cases, the addition of a suffix triggers a change in the final con-sonant of the root. For example, an alveolar consonant becomes palatal with the same voicing value:

4. part partial /t/ □ /□/
face facial /s/ □ /□/
seize seizure /z/ □ /□/
remit remission /t/ □ /□/



In a multi-syllabic word with a stressed tense vowel, the palatalization may be accompanied by a laxing of that vowel:

5. collide collision /d/ □ /□/ /a□/ □ /□/

elide elision /d/ □ /□/ /a□/ □ /□/

Sometimes the addition of a derivational affix requires a change in the stress pattern, with consequential changes in the pronunciations of the vowels. In most cases an unstressed vowel is pronounced as schwa:

6. □telegraph te□legraphy

□regal re□galia

□tutor tu□torial

In still other cases we find suffixing, stress migration with change of vowel quality, and change of consonant:

7. ap□proveappro□bation /u/ □ /□/ /v/ □ /b/

Additionally, English allows us to change a word's part of speech without any change of form. As a result, identical forms may belong to different parts of speech, e.g., saw the noun and saw the verb:

8.

- This saw is too dull. (noun)
- Don't saw that board. (verb)

Other examples include hit, buy, dust, autograph, brown-bag, which can all be both verbs and nouns. Change of part of speech without any corresponding formal change is called conversion (also functional shift or zero derivation).

The term word family is often used for a set of words that are related to each other derivationally or inflectionally, though the term is also used to refer to any set of words that rhyme with each other.

Compounding

The italicized words in (11) are created by combining saw with some other word, rather than with a bound morpheme.

9.

- A sawmill is a noisy place.



- Every workshop should have a chain saw, a table saw, a jig-saw, a hack saw, and a bucksaw.
- Sawdust is always a problem in a woodworker's workshop.
- Sawing horses are useful and easily made.

Such words are called compounds. They contain two or more words (or more accurately, two or more roots, all, one, or none of which may be bound; cf. blueberry with two free morphemes, and astronaut with two bound morphemes). Generally, one of the words is the head of the compound and the other(s) its modifier(s). In bucksaw, saw is the head, which is modified by buck. The order is significant: compare pack rat with rat pack. Generally, the modifier comes before the head.

In ordinary English spelling, compounds are sometimes spelled as single words, as in sawmill, sawdust; sometimes the parts are connected by a hyphen, as in jig-saw; and sometimes they are spelled as two words, as in chain saw, oil well. (Dictionaries may differ in their spellings.) Nonetheless, we are justified in classifying all such cases as compound words regardless of their conventional spelling for a variety of reasons. First, the stress pattern of the compound word is usually different from the stress pattern in the phrase composed of the same words in the same order. Compare:

10. compound phrase

- White House white house
- funny farm funny farm
- blackbird black bird
- flatcar flat car

In the compounds the main stress is on the first word; in the phrases the main stress is on the last word. While this pattern does not apply to all compounds, it is so generally true that it provides a very useful test. Second, the meaning of the compound may differ to a greater or lesser degree from that of the corresponding phrase. A blackbird is a species of bird, regardless of its color; a black bird is a bird which is black, regardless of its species. A trotting-horse is a kind of horse, regardless of its current activity; a trotting horse must be a horse that is currently trotting. So, because the meanings of compounds are not always predictable from the meanings of their constituents, dictionaries often provide individual entries for them. They do not do this for phrases, unless the meaning of the phrase is idiomatic and therefore not derivable from the meanings of its



parts and how they are put together, e.g., raining cats and dogs. Generally the meaning of a phrase is predictable from the meanings of its constituents, and so phrases need not be listed individually. (Indeed, because the number of possible phrases in a language is infinite, it is in principle impossible to list them all.) Third, in many compounds, the order of the constituent words is different from that in the corresponding phrase:

11. compound phrase

Sawmill mill for sawing

Sawing horse horse for sawing

Sawdust dust from sawing

Fourth, compound nouns allow no modification to the first element. This contrasts with noun phrases, which do allow modification to the modifier: compare *a really-blackbird and a really black bird. There are a number of ways of approaching the study and classification of compound words, the most accessible of which is to classify them according to the part of speech of the compound and then sub-classify them according to the parts of speech of its constituents.

1. Compound nouns

- a) Noun + noun: bath towel; boy-friend; death blow
- b) Verb + noun: pickpocket; breakfast
- c) Noun +verb: nosebleed; sunshine
- d) Verb +verb: make-believe
- e) Adjective + noun: deep structure; fast-food
- f) Particle + noun: in-crowd; down-town
- g) Adverb + noun: now generation
- h) Verb + particle: cop-out; drop-out
- i) Phrase compounds: son-in-law



2. Compound verbs

- a. Noun + verb: sky-dive
- b. Adjective + verb: fine-tune
- c. Particle + verb: overbook
- d. Adjective + noun: brown-bag

3. Compound adjectives

- e. Noun + adjective: card-carrying; childproof
- f. Verb + adjective: fail safe
- g. Adjective + adjective: open-ended
- h. Adverb + adjective: cross-modal
- i. Particle + adjective: over-qualified
- j. Noun + noun: coffee-table
- k. Verb + noun: roll-neck
- l. Adjective + noun: red-brick; blue-collar
- m. Particle + noun: in-depth
- n. Verb + verb: go-go; make-believe
- o. Adjective/Adverb + verb: high-rise;
- p. Verb + particle: see-through; tow-away

4. Compound adverbs

- Uptightly cross-modally

5. Neo-classical compounds

- astro-naut
- hydro-electric
- mechano-phobe

An alternative approach is to classify compounds in terms of the semantic relationship between the compound and its head. The head of a compound is the constituent modified by the compound's other constituents. In English, heads of



compounds are typically the rightmost constituent (excluding any derivational and inflectional suffixes). For example, in traffic-cop the head is cop, which is modified by traffic; in line-backer the head is backer, which is modified by line. Linguists distinguish at least three different semantic relations between the head and modifier(s) of compounds. First, the compound represents a subtype of whatever the head represents. For instance, a traffic-cop is a kind of cop; a teapot is a kind of pot; a fog-lamp is a kind of lamp; a blue-jay is a kind of jay. That is, the head names the type, and the compound names the subtype. These are called endocentric compounds.

Second, the compound names a subtype, but the type is not represented by either the head or the modifier in the compound. For example, Dead-head, redhead, and pickpocket represent types of people by denoting some distinguishing characteristic. There is typically another word, not included in the compound, that represents the type of which the compound represents the subtype. In the case of Deadhead, redhead, and pickpocket this other word is person, so a Deadhead is a person who is an enthusiastic fan of the band The Grateful Dead. These are called exocentric compounds.

Third, there are compounds in which both elements are heads; each contributes equally to the meaning of the whole and neither is subordinate to the other, for instance, bitter-sweet. Compounds like these can be paraphrased as both X and Y, e.g., “bitter and sweet.” Other examples include teacher-researcher and producer-director. These can be called coordinative compounds. As a third (and final) possible mode of analyzing compounds we briefly consider that used in the series of modern traditional grammars prepared by Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1972, 1985). In this method, the compounds are analyzed and classified according to the relationships among their constituents when the meaning of the compound is expressed as a phrase or clause. For example:

phrases

Bee-sting a sting by a bee

Blood-test a test of blood

Swimming pool a pool for swimming

Adding machine a machine for adding

Girlfriend a friend who is a girl

Killer shark a shark which is a killer



Windmill a mill powered by wind

Motorcycle a cycle powered by a motor

Self-control someone able to control self

Clauses

Sunrise when the sun rises

Other sources of words:

Besides derivation and compounding, languages make use of coining, abbreviating, blending, and borrowing to create new words. Coining is the creation of new words without reference to the existing morphological resources of the language, that is, solely out of the sounds of the language. Coining is very rare, but googol [note the spelling] is an attested example, meaning 10¹⁰⁰. This word was invented in 1940 by then nine-year-old nephew of a mathematician (see Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Vol. III Supplement to the OED Vols. I-IV: 1987p. 317). Abbreviation involves the shortening of existing words to create other words, usually informal versions of the originals. There are several ways to abbreviate. We may simply lop off one or more syllables, as in prof for professor, doc for doctor. Usually the syllable left over provides enough information to allow us to identify the word it's an abbreviation of, though occasionally this is not the case: United Airlines's low cost carrier is called Ted. (Go figure!) Alternatively, we may use the first letter of each word in a phrase to create a new expression, an acronym, as in UN, US, or SUV. In these instances the acronym is pronounced as a sequence of letter names. In other instances, such as UNICEF from United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the acronym can be pronounced as an ordinary English word. Advertisers make prolific use of acronyms and often try to make them pronounceable as ordinary words. Blending involves taking two or more words, removing parts of each, and joining the residues together to create a new word whose form and meaning are taken from the source words. Smog derives from smoke and fog and means a combination of these two substances (and probably lots of others); motel derives from motor and hotel and refers to hotels that are convenient in various ways to motorists; Prevacid derives from prevent acid; eracism derives from erase and racism and means erase racism or, if read against the grain, electronic racism (cf. email, ecommerce, E-trade); webinar derives from (worldwide) web and seminar. In November 2007, an interviewee on an NPR news item created the blend snolo



to refer to playing bike polo in the snow. Borrowing involves copying a word that originally belonged in one language into another language. For instance, many terms from Mexican cuisine, like taco and burrito, have become current in American English and are spreading to other English dialects. Borrowing requires that the borrowing language and the source language come in contact with each other. Speakers of the borrowing language must learn at least some minimum of the source language for the borrowing to take place. Over its 1500 year history English has borrowed from hundreds of languages, though the main ones are Latin (homicide), Greek (chorus), French (mutton), Italian (aria), Spanish (ranch), German (semester), and the Scandinavian languages (law). From Native American languages, American English has borrowed place names (Chicago), river names (Mississippi), animal names (opossum), and plant names (hickory). The borrowed word never remains a perfect copy of its original. It is made to fit the phonological, morphological, and syntactic patterns of its new language. For example, the Spanish pronunciation of burritos is very different from the English pronunciation. At the very least, the two languages use different /r/s and /t/s, and the plural marker {-s} is voiced in English but voiceless in Spanish.

Registers and words:

Although most of the words we use every day can be used in almost any context, many words of the language are restricted to uses in certain fields, disciplines, professions, or activities, i.e., registers. For example, the word phoneme is restricted to the linguistic domain. Interestingly, some words may be used in several domains with a different meaning in each, though these meanings may be a specific version of a more general meaning. For example, the word morphology is used in linguistics to refer to the study of the internal structure of words and their derivational relationships; in botany to refer to the forms of plants; in geology to refer to rock formations. The general, abstract meaning underlying these specific meanings is the study of form. Besides words that may be used in almost any context and those that are technical or discipline specific, there are words that play important roles in academic discourses generally, for example, accuracy; basis; concept and its related forms, conception, conceptual, conceptualize; decrease; effect; factor; indicate and its related forms, indication, indicative; and result. As such words are used across disciplines, generally without local idiosyncrasies of meaning, they are important words for English learners, both native and non-native speakers. For a useful overview of the attempts to create lists of such academic (or subtechnical) words and a new list of them, see Coxhead (2000) and the references therein (another academic



word). the internal structure of complex words Complex words (those composed of more than one morpheme) are not merely unstructured sequences of morphemes. For example, the plural {-s} suffix on dropouts must be added to the entire compound dropout, not to out to which drop is then added. The reason for this is that the plural suffix may be attached to nouns, but not to verbs or particles. Drop and out constitute a noun only after they have been brought together in the compound. We can use brackets with subscripts to represent these relations: [N[N[Vdrop][Prtout]]s]. Alternatively, and equivalently, we can use tree diagrams to indicate the parts (constituents) of complex words and their structural relations: (14) N N Pl V Prt drop out s Consider another example: unreadability. We analyze this word as [N[Adjun1 [Vread]abil]]ity], represented by the following tree: (15) N Adj Suffix Prefix Adj V Suffix un1 readability Let's consider this analysis more closely. The suffix {-able} attaches to verbs to create adjectives. Besides readable we have the adjectives doable, manage- able, and attachable, which are derived from the verbs read, do, manage, and attach, respectively. We can represent this part of the word as: [Adj[Vread] able].The prefix {un1 -} attaches to adjectives, meaning "not" or "the converse of." Compare unwise, unfair, ungrateful, uncomfortable, unmanageable with unreadable. All can be glossed as not having the quality denoted by the adjective to which they are attached: "not comfortable," "not fair," etc. This morpheme must be distinguished from the prefix {un2 -} meaning "to reverse the action," which can be attached only to verbs (e.g., untie). {Un1 -} cannot attach to the verb read; although there is the word unread, pronounced [@nrEd], not [@nrid], an adjective meaning "not read" and derived from the past participle of read. Consequently, in unreadable, {-able} must be attached to {read} to create the adjective readable. {Un1 -} may then be attached to readable to create unreadable. We will represent this part of the word as: [Adjun1[Adj[Vread]able]] The suffix {-ity} attaches to adjectives to create abstract nouns. Consequently it must be attached to the adjective unreadable. The structure of the entire word therefore must be: [N[Adjun1[Adj[Vread]able]]ity], as specified above. In pronunciation the morpheme {-able} will be assigned its allomorph /@bIl/ (spelled <abil>, the same allomorph that appears in ability). each language has a number of patterns which belong to it but doesn't have certain others. For instance English has the phonological and graphological patterns. English has grammatical patterns which we find in "the red book", but doesn't have the pattern in "book red the". English has the lexical pattern which we find in the bright red dress but does not have the pattern in invisible red thunder. There are five axis of chain: morph, word, group, clause, sentence morph is the smallest grammatical meaningful unit in language.



It consists of bound and free morpheme. Morpheme is the lowest unit. For instance; book, books

GROUPS:

Group is the combination of words that does not have complete sense. There are

Nominal group (m), h, (q)

Verbal group (a), (n), l, (e)

Prepositional group (o), p, c

Adverbial group (t), a, (l)

Nominal group is that in which noun is head word. Head word is the obligatory element, while others are optional in the structure. It is an essential element word in a stretch of language. Modifiers are any word which modifies, qualifies, or describe headword, which comes before head word. Qualifier qualifies the head word and comes after head word. Example: The boy next door is friend of my niece.

Verbal group has only one obligatory element of structure that is lexical element. This may be preceded by an element which is called auxiliary element. And adverbs change the meaning of verb to which it is attached ex: will not come up, has not rung up, has not taken over.inAdverbial group the element which may precede apex is called temperer. The element which may follow apex is called limiter apex ias an obligatory element.

Examples: t a l

Very quickly indeed

Sentence is a group of words which makes complete sense. The structure of sentence consists of subjectpredicator complement adjunct these mistakes were very common last year

ICA (Immediate Constituent Analysis) and the traditional sentence analysis during the 1950s. It views out that both fail to provide a definite criterion for the limit of constituent segmentations. The emphasizes that the fundamental defect of ICA is that the notion of heads does not play any role therein.ICA only gives a set of binary structural patterns ,but not the association patterns composed of various binary patterns.ICA also fails in producing the multi-valence semantic relations. A new method is then posited which is named Direct Constituent Analysis which asserts the unique head of the word and the layer structure



centered on the head of the word. The ICA of a sentence can be represented as a labeled bracketing of the sentence in which matched brackets enclose a constituent subparts of the sentence and label on these brackets specifies the grammatical category of the constituent. The I.C. Analysis process reached a full blown strategy for analyzing sentence structure in the early works of Noam Chomsky. Most of the tree structures employed to represent the syntactic structure of sentences are parts of some form of I.C. Analysis. The structuralists ignored meaning and emphasized that the language should be studied in a mechanical ways, and a linguist should therefore discover the various constituents of language as element in the larger construction which is called asentence.

II. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To give a brief study about ICA in general.
2. To highlight what is ICA.
3. To know how ICA is analyzed.
4. To illustrate examples of how ICA sentences are analyzed.

I.C. Analysis – Definition: is an implicit assumption that linguistic structure, especially syntactic structures are layered structures amenable to analysis by progressive dichotomous cutting.

In another word I.C. Analysis is that system of grammatical analysis that breakup sentences into sequential layers, or constituents until in the final layer, and every constituent consists of only a word or meaningful part of a word.

Approach of I.C. Analysis: The initial emphasis was upon pure segmentation, simply breakup the sentence into its constituent parts without, at first, knowing what these parts were: Generally the section is binary except in some cases where section into three or more points is allowed.

Terms: Ultimate, immediate, and larger construction, linear structure.

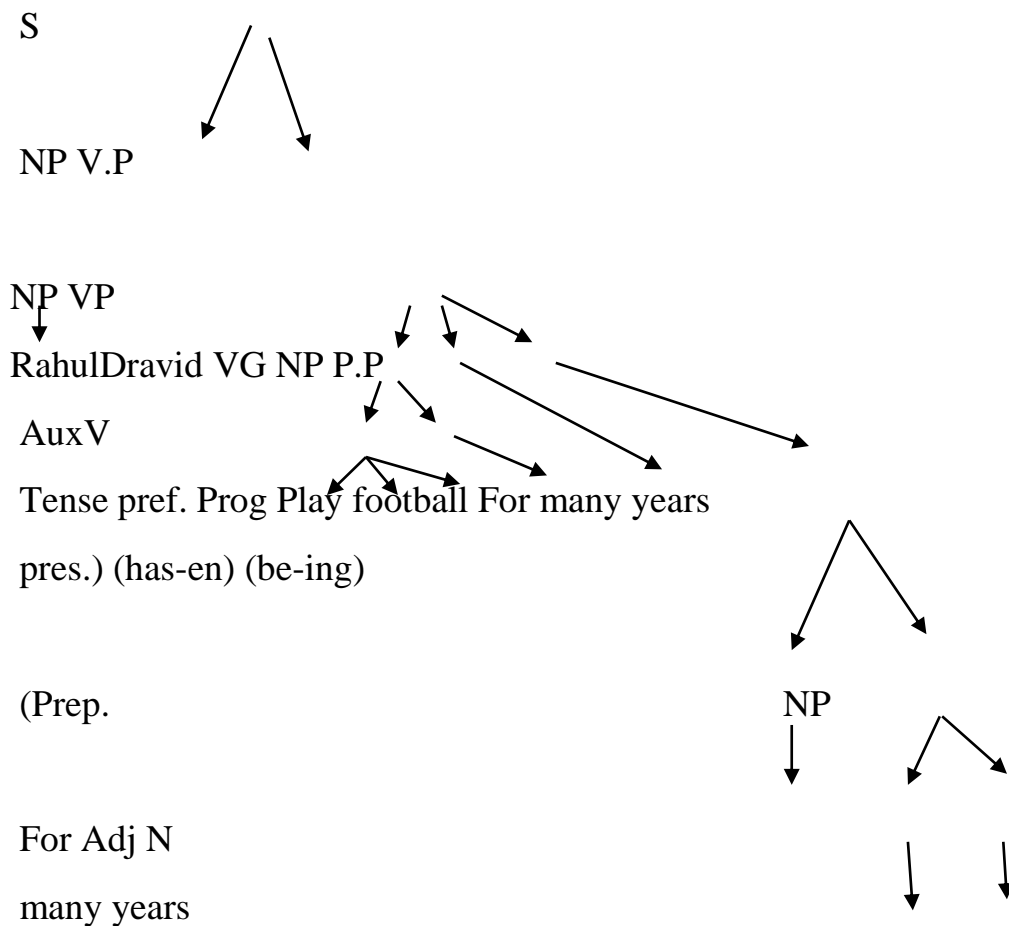
- i. The concept of constitute and constituent: The important thing to note here is the fact that constitute and constituent are relative terms. For example, “poor John” is a constitute when viewed in relation to “poor” and “John”, but it is a constituent when viewed in relation to the sentence as a whole.
- ii. Morphemes as Ultimate Constituents: The proponents of IC analysis also emphasized that the ultimate constituents of a sentence are morphemes and not words. Hockett (1958), “morphemes rather than words are the elementary building blocks of language in its grammatical aspect



That the ultimate constituents of a sentence are morphemes and not words is one of the basic assumptions of grammatical analysis these days but during the early days of linguistics it was useful to emphasize such things.

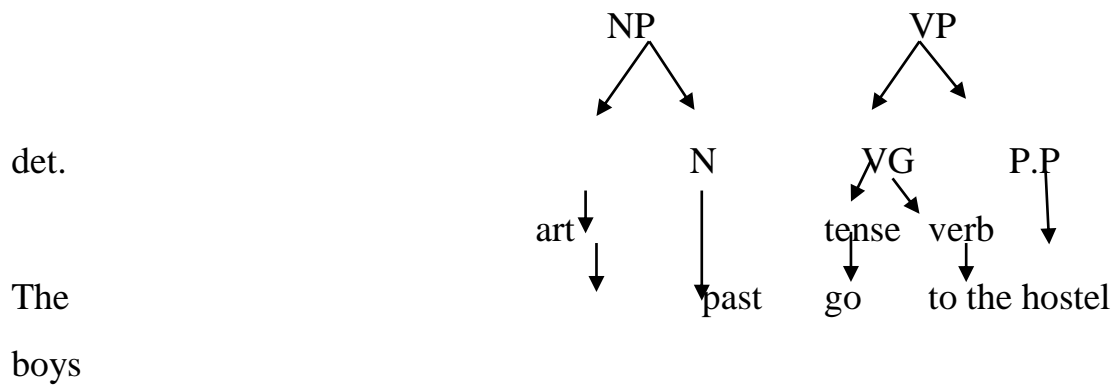
I.C. Analysis of Sentences: A single sentence is made up of an NP (subject) and a predicate phrase. This predicate phrase which is apart from a compulsory verbal group may optionally have one or more noun phrase(s), preposition phrase(s) and adverbial and adjective phrases. Here are a few examples:

➤ **Rahul Dravid has been playing football for many years.**

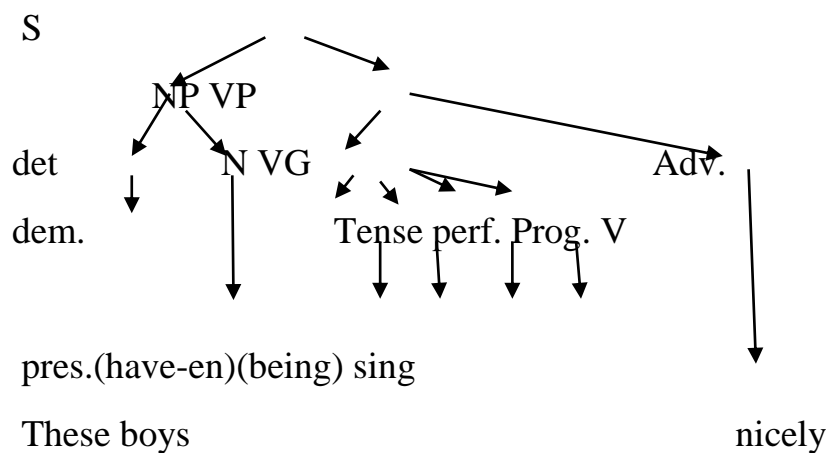


➤ **After paying the fee the boys went to the hostel.**





iii) These boys have been singing nicely



➤ LIMITATIONS OF IC ANALYSIS

- A. Immediate constituent analysis has its limitations: It is not constituent analysis has its limitations. It is not possible to analyze like such structures, as they do not form proper grammatical groups. For example, hence is a sentence: She is taller than her sister. In this sentence, the sequence –er than is not covered by IC analysis.
- B. IC analysis is not below the words: In IC analysis it is tacitly assumed that there will be no division into pieces. Smaller than words (morphemes) until all the words have been divided.
- C. Unbalanced Bracketing: IC analysis does not refer to our grammatical knowledge. So it does not take us very far and without the help of labeled bracketing we cannot point out the source of ambiguity in many sentences. The labeled bracketing can be used to differentiate the two possibilities in an example that is often against IC analysis. Flying planes can be dangerous.



Here, in one case ‘flying’ is the head of the noun phrase while on the other hand is ‘planes’.

➤ CONCLUSION

This paper briefly discusses the immediate constituent analysis and it also gives account of what is ICA by giving clear illustration and examples. It starts with the introduction of ICA and how was the ICA developed from 1950s onwards. Then it discusses what is ICA, and its approach and frame. In this paper we also know how to analyze the ICA and how we analyze ICA sentences and it also discusses what the limitations of ICA are.

A **major sentence** (also called a **regular sentence**) is any complete sentence that is made up of or contains an **independent clause**—that is, it has both a subject and a predicate (a verb and any of its constituent parts).

A **minor sentence** (also called an **irregular sentence**), on the other hand, is any sentence that does not have at least one independent clause—that is, it does **not** have both a subject and a complete predicate—and yet is used in writing or speech as a complete sentence that stands on its own.

Minor Sentences

Minor sentences can be made up of single words, sentence fragments, interjections, or set expressions (such as idioms and proverbs. We’ll examine several examples of each below to see how they are used in everyday English.

Single-word sentences

In conversational English, we very often use single words to get across required information in response to another person. These are known as **sentence words**, **one-word sentences**, or just **word sentences**. For example:

- Person A: “Where is your meeting again?” Person B: “**Denver.**”
- Person A: “I think it’s best that we don’t get involved.” Person B: “**Agreed.**”
- Person A: “When do you need these reports finished?” Person B: “**Tomorrow.**”

Even though the second speaker’s response is only made up of a single word in each of these examples, it contains all the relevant information that is necessary in the context of the conversation.



Sentence fragments

We also commonly use sentence fragments (phrases, incomplete clauses, or dependent clauses) as standalone sentences. Again, these are typically used in conversational English when we are responding to someone else. For example:

- Person A: “Are you going to have lunch soon?” Person B: “**In about an hour.**” (prepositional phrase)
- Person A: “Do you want to come to a movie with me later?” Person B: “**Sounds good!**” (incomplete clause)
- Person A: “When did you realize that you wanted to pursue politics?” Person B: “**When I was in college.**” (dependent clause)

Interjections

Single words and short phrases are also commonly used as **interjections** (also known as **exclamations**) to convey a strong emotion, such as surprise, alarm, excitement, dismay, etc. These are divided into **primary** and **secondary interjections**.

Primary interjections

Primary interjections are single words derived from sounds, rather than from existing word classes. They still have widely recognized meaning, however. Some common primary interjections are:

- **argh** (an expression of frustration)
- **brr** (an expression of being cold)
- **eww** (an expression of disgust)
- **grr** (an expression of anger)
- **ooh** (an expression of amazement)
- **phew** (an expression of relief)

Primary interjections are often linked to a major sentence with a comma, but they can also stand on their own as minor sentences, in which case they are generally punctuated with an exclamation point. For example:

- “**Ooh!** That’s a beautiful dress.”
- “**Brr!** It’s freezing in here!”
- “**Eww!** I hate coconuts!”



Secondary Interjections

Secondary interjections are single words or short phrases that do belong to other existing word classes. Some common secondary interjections are:

- **bless you**
- **congratulations**
- **good grief**
- **hell**
- **hey**
- **hi**
- **oh my**
- **oh my God**
- **oh well**
- **shoot**
- **well**
- **what**
- **wow**

Secondary interjections are also often punctuated with exclamation points. For example:

- “**Oh my God!** We won the lottery!”
- “**Wow!** What a great achievement!”
- “**Congratulations!** That was an impressive victory.”

However, we can also have weaker secondary interjections that are punctuated with periods, or interrogative ones that use question marks. For example:

- “**Well shoot.** I really thought we were going to win.”
- “**Good grief.** I didn’t see that coming.”
- “**Well?** Are we going to watch a movie?”
- “**What?** You don’t like coconuts?”



Idioms, Proverbs, and Set Expressions

English has a large number of expressions that have a set, established understanding, even if they technically are not grammatically complete or do not make literal sense. Many of these are **idioms** (expressions that have a non-literal meaning) or **proverbs** (short sayings that carry a basic truth or precept), though there are other expressions with set meanings that are in frequent and widespread use, as well.

There are thousands of such phrases, so we will only cover a few here that are considered minor sentences. To learn more, check out The Free Dictionary's Complete Guide to Idioms, Proverbs, and Phrasal Verbs.

Idioms

Idioms are phrases whose meaning cannot be gleaned from the literal words they're composed of, often having a unique grammatical structure. Because of this, they are frequently used in ways that go against traditional grammar rules, and they are often used as sentences unto themselves in conversation. For example:

- Person A: "Hi, how are you?" Person B: "Hey, Jeff! **Long time no see!**"
- "Be more careful next time, or there might not be a 'next time.' **Catch my drift?**"
- Person A: "How can you evict us from our house like this?" Person B: "**Orders are orders.**"
- Person A: "When will you have that report ready for me?" Person B: "**Any minute now!**"

Idioms are so frequently used and understood in everyday speech and writing that they are often truncated or abbreviated, with the full phrase left to be implicitly understood by the listener or reader. For instance:

Person A: "I went through all the trouble of getting her this job, and she still managed to screw it up." Person B: "Well, **you can lead a horse to water.**" (Short for "**You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink.**")

Person A: "I took them to the best restaurant in town, but they said they would rather have had cheeseburgers." Person B: "What do you expect? **Pearls before swine.**" (Short for "**cast (one's) pearls before swine.**")



Proverbs

Proverbs are similar to idioms in that their codified meaning is widely understood due to frequent and widespread use. Proverbs are self-contained sentences that express a truth based on common sense or shared experience. Many of them have become pared down into minor sentences over time. For example:

- “You should try and form better habits in your day-to-day routine. **Early to bed, early to rise, that sort of thing!**” (Short for “**Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.**”)
- “I’m not sure why people are shocked that he’s suspected of stealing. **If the shoe fits.**” (Short for “**If the shoe fits, wear it.**”)
- “Sure, bring your friends. **The more the merrier!**”

Other set expressions

There are other common expressions that stand on their own as minor sentences that are not necessarily idiomatic or proverbial but nevertheless have a particular meaning that is inherently understood. (Many of these are forms of (or similar to) the **interjections** that we looked at above.)

Expressions of greeting and farewell are a prime example of set expressions that function as or form minor sentences. For example:

- “**Hello!** How are you?”
- “**Good afternoon!** It’s a pleasure to see you.”
- “I’m afraid I must depart. **Good day,** gentlemen.”
- “**Goodbye.** I hope we meet again.”

Expressions of well wishes operate the same way:

- “I hear you have a big exam coming up. **Good luck!**”
- “This is a big trip you’re undertaking. **Godspeed!**”
- Some set expressions have been adapted from other languages, as in:
- “**Bon voyage!** Enjoy your trip abroad!” (From French, expressing good wishes to a departing traveler.)



- “I hope you enjoy the meal. **Bon appétit**, everyone!” (From French, a salutation to someone about to eat.)
- “**Gesundheit!**” (From German, meaning “health,” used in English as a verbal response to someone who has sneezed)

Connotation and denotation are not two separate things/signs. They are two aspects/ elements of a sign, and the connotative meanings of a word exist together with the denotative meanings]. – Connotation represents the various social overtones, cultural implications, or emotional meanings associated with a sign. – Denotation represents the explicit or referential meaning of a sign. Denotation refers to the literal meaning of a word, the ‘dictionary definition.’ For example, the name ‘Hollywood’ connotes such things as glitz, glamour, tinsel, celebrity, and dreams of stardom. In the same time, the name ‘Hollywood’ denotes an area of Los Angeles, worldwide known as the center of the American movie industry.

Denotation refers to the literal meaning of a word, the "dictionary definition." For example, if you look up the word snake in a dictionary, you will discover that one of its denotative meanings is "any of numerous scaly, legless, sometimes venomous reptiles having a long, tapering, cylindrical body and found in most tropical and temperate regions." • Connotation, on the other hand, refers to the associations that are connected to a certain word or the emotional suggestions related to that word. The connotative meanings of a word exist together with the denotative meanings. The connotations for the word snake could include evil or danger.

In semantics, *associative meaning* refers to the particular qualities or characteristics beyond the denotative meaning that people commonly think of (correctly or incorrectly) in relation to a word or phrase. Also known as expressive meaning and stylistic meaning.

In *Semantics: The Study of Meaning* (1974), British linguist Geoffrey Leech introduced the term associative meaning to refer to the various types of meaning that are distinct from denotation (or conceptual meaning): connotative, thematic, social, effective, reflective, and collocative.

Cultural and Personal Associations

"A word can sweep by your ear and by its very sound suggest hidden meanings, preconscious association. Listen to these words: *blood, tranquil,*



democracy. You know what they mean literally but you have associations with those words that are cultural, as well as your own personal associations."

(Rita Mae Brown, *Starting From Scratch*. Bantam, 1988)

"[W]hen some people hear the word 'pig' they think of a particularly dirty and unhygienic animal. These associations are largely mistaken, at least in comparison with most other farm animals (although their association with various cultural traditions and related emotional responses are real enough), so we would probably not include these properties in the connotations of the word. But the associative meaning of a word often has very powerful communicative and argumentative consequences, so it is important to mention this aspect of meaning."

Unconscious Association

"A good example of a common noun with an almost universal associative meaning is 'nurse.' Most people automatically associate 'nurse' with 'woman.' This unconscious association is so widespread that the term 'male nurse' has had to be coined to counteract its effect."

(Sándor Hervey and Ian Higgins, *Thinking French Translation: A Course in Translation Method*, 2nd ed. Routledge, 2002)

Conceptual Meaning and Associative Meaning

"We can ... make a broad distinction between conceptual meaning and associative meaning. Conceptual meaning covers those basic, essential components of meaning that are conveyed by the literal use of a word. It is the type of meaning that dictionaries are designed to describe. Some of the basic components of a word like "*needle*" in English might include 'thin, sharp, steel instrument.' These components would be part of the conceptual meaning of "*needle*." However, different people might have different associations or connotations attached to a word like "*needle*." They might associate it with 'pain,' or 'illness,' or 'blood,' or 'drugs,' or 'thread,' or 'knitting,' or 'hard to find' (especially in a haystack), and these associations may differ from one person to the next. These types of associations are not treated as part of the word's conceptual meaning.

[P]oets, songwriters, novelists, literary critics, advertisers, and lovers may all be interested in how words can evoke certain aspects of associative meaning, but in linguistic semantics, we're more concerned with trying to analyze conceptual meaning."



A *collocation* (pronunciation: KOL-oh-KAY-shun) is a familiar grouping of words, especially words that habitually appear together and thereby convey meaning by association. The term *collocation* (from the Latin for "place together") was first used in its linguistic sense by British linguist John Rupert Firth (1890-1960), who famously observed, "You shall know a word by the company it keeps." *Collocational range* refers to the set of items that typically accompany a word. The size of a collocational range is partially determined by a word's level of specificity and number of meanings.

Examples and Observations

"*Once upon a time* there was a Martian named Valentine Michael Smith."
—Robert Heinlein, "*Stranger in a Strange Land*"

"*Once upon a time* and a very good time it was there was a moocow coming down along the road and this moocow that was coming down along the road met a nicens little boy named baby tuckoo."
—James Joyce, "*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*"

"The mule has more *horse sense* than a horse. He knows when to stop eating—and he knows when to stop working."
—Harry S. Truman.

"I'm an incredible man, possessing an *iron will* and *nerves of steel*—two traits that have helped me become the genius I am today as well as the *lady killer* I was in days gone by."
—William Morgan Sheppard as Dr. Ira Graves, "*Star Trek: The Next Generation*"

"The "Wheel of Fortune" Lexicon

"Collocations and clichés are strings of words that are remembered as wholes and often used together, such as *gone with the wind* or *like two peas in a pod*. People know tens of thousands of these expressions; the linguist Ray Jackendoff refers to them as 'the Wheel of Fortune lexicon,' after the game show in which contestants guess a familiar expression from a few fragments."
—From "*Words and Rules*" by Steven Pinker

Predictability of Collocations

"Every lexeme has collocations, but some are much more predictable than others. *Blond* collocates strongly with *hair*, *flock* with *sheep*, *neigh* with *horse*. Some collocations are totally predictable, such as *spick* with *span*,



or *addled* with *brains* Others are much less so: *letter* collocates with a wide range of lexemes, such as *alphabet* and *spelling*, and (in another sense) *box*, *post*, and *write*. . . .

"Collocations should not be confused with 'association of ideas.' The way lexemes work together may have nothing to do with 'ideas.' We say in English *green with jealousy* (not *blue* or *red*), though there is nothing literally 'green' about 'jealousy.'"

—From "*How Language Works*" by David Crystal

Collocational Range

"Two main factors can influence the collocational range of an item (Beekman and Callow, 1974). The first is its level of specificity: the more general a word is, the broader its collocational range; the more specific it is, the more restricted its collocational range. The verb *bury* is likely to have a much broader collocational range than any of its hyponyms, such as *inter* or *entomb*, for example. Only *people* can be *interred*, but you can *bury people*, a *treasure*, your *head*, *face*, *feelings*, and *memories*. The second factor which determines the collocational range of an item is the number of senses it has. Most words have several senses and they tend to attract a different set of collocates for each sense."

—From "*In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*" by Mona Baker

Semantic field is a set of words (or lexemes) related in meaning. The phrase is also known as a word field, lexical field, field of meaning, and semantic system. Linguist Adrienne Lehrer has defined semantic field more specifically as "a set of lexemes which cover a certain conceptual domain and which bear certain specifiable relations to one another" (1985).

Examples and Observations

The subject matter often unites a semantic field.

"The words in a semantic field share a common semantic property. Most often, fields are defined by subject matter, such as body parts, landforms, diseases, colors, foods, or kinship relations....

"Let's consider some examples of semantic fields....The field of 'stages of life' is arranged sequentially, though there is considerable overlap between terms (e.g., *child*, *toddler*) as well as some apparent gaps (e.g., there are no simple terms for the different stages of adulthood). Note that a term such as *minor* or *juvenile* belongs to a technical register, a term such as *kid* or *tot* to a colloquial register, and a term such as *sexagenarian* or *octogenarian* to a more



formal register. The semantic field of 'water' could be divided into a number of subfields; in addition, there would appear to be a great deal of overlap between terms such as *sound/fjord* or *cove/harbor/bay*."

(Laurel J. Brinton, "The Structure of Modern English: A Linguistic Introduction." John Benjamins, 2000)

Metaphors and Semantic Fields

Semantic fields are also sometimes called fields of meaning:

"Cultural attitudes to particular areas of human activity can often be seen in the choices of metaphor used when that activity is discussed. A useful linguistic concept to be aware of here is that of semantic field, sometimes called just field, or field of meaning....

"The semantic field of war and battle is one that sports writers often draw on. Sport, particularly football, in our culture is also associated with conflict and violence."

(Ronald Carter, "Working With Texts: A Core Introduction to Language Analysis."Routledge, 2001)

More and Less Marked Members of a Semantic Field

Color terms also help illustrate how words are grouped into a semantic field.

"In a semantic field, not all lexical items necessarily have the same status. Consider the following sets, which together form the semantic field of color terms (of course, there are other terms in the same field):

1. Blue, red, yellow, green, black, purple
2. Indigo, saffron, royal blue, aquamarine, bisque

The colors referred to by the words of set 1 are more 'usual' than those described in set 2. They are said to be less *marked* members of the semantic field than those of set 2. The less marked members of a semantic field are usually easier to learn and remember than more marked members. Children learn the term *blue* before they learn the terms *indigo*, *royal blue*, or *aquamarine*. Often, a less marked word consists of only one morpheme, in contrast to more marked words (contrast *blue* with *royal blue* or *aquamarine*). The less marked member of a semantic field cannot be described by using the name of another member of the same field, whereas more marked members can be thus described (*indigo* is a kind of blue, but *blue* is not a kind of indigo).



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"Less marked terms also tend to be used more frequently than more marked terms; for example, *blue* occurs considerably more frequently in conversation and writing than *indigo* or *aquamarine*....Less marked terms are also often broader in meaning than more marked terms.... Finally, less marked words are not the result of the metaphorical usage of the name of another object or concept, whereas more marked words often are; for example, *saffron* is the color of a spice that lent its name to the color."



UNIT V

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

The reconstruction of proto-forms is an attempt to determine what a language must have been like before any written records. However, even when we have written records from an older period of a language such as English, they may not bear any resemblance to the written form of the language found in today's newspapers. The version of the Lord's Prayer quoted at the beginning of this chapter provides a good illustration of this point. Even some of the letters seem quite alien. The older letters þ (called "thorn") and ð ("eth") were both replaced by "th" (as in þu → thou, eorðan → earth), and æ ("ash") simply became "a" (as in to dæg → today). To see how one language has undergone substantial changes through time, we can take a brief look at the history of English, which is traditionally divided into four periods.

Old English: before 1100

Middle English: 1100 to 1500

Early Modern English: 1500 to 1700

Modern English: after 1700

Old English

The primary sources for what developed as the English language were the Germanic languages spoken by a group of tribes from northern Europe who moved into the British Isles in the fifth century. In one early account, these tribes of Angles, Saxons and Jutes were described as "God's wrath toward Britain." It is from the names of the first two that we have the term Anglo-Saxons to describe these people, and from the name of the first tribe that we get the word for their language Englisc and their new home Engla-land. From this early version of Englisc, now called Old English, we have many of the most basic terms in the language: mann ("man"), wi^ƿf ("woman"), cild ("child"), hu^ƿs ("house"), mete ("food"), etan ("eat"), drincan ("drink") and feohtan ("fight"). These pagan settlers also gave us some weekday names, commemorating their gods Woden and Thor. However, they did not remain pagan for long. From the sixth to the eighth century, there was an extended period during which these Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity and a number of terms from Latin (the language of the religion) came into English at that time. The origins of the contemporary English words angel, bishop, candle, church, martyr, priest and school all date from this period. From the eighth century through the ninth and tenth centuries,



another group of northern Europeans came first to plunder and then to settle in parts of the coastal regions of Britain. They were the Vikings and it is from their language, Old Norse, that the original forms of give, law, leg, skin, sky, take and they were adopted. It is from their winter festival *jo' l* that we have Yule as a term for the Christmas season.

Middle English

The event that marks the end of the Old English period, and the beginning of the Middle English period, is the arrival of the Norman French in England, following their victory at Hastings under William the Conqueror in 1066. These French-speaking invaders became the ruling class, so that the language of the nobility, the government, the law and civilized life in England for the next two hundred years was French. It is the source of words like army, court, defense, faith, prison and tax. Yet the language of the peasants remained English. The peasants worked on the land and reared sheep, cows and swine (words from Old English) while the upper classes talked about mutton, beef and pork (words of French origin). Hence the different terms in modern English to refer to these creatures “on the hoof” as opposed to “on the plate.”

Throughout this period, French (or, more accurately, an English version of French) was the prestige language and Chaucer tells us that one of his Canterbury pilgrims could speak it. She was cleped Madame Eglentyne Fulwel she song the service dyvyne, Entuned in her nose fulsemely, And Frenche she spakful faire and fetisly. This is an example of Middle English, written in the late fourteenth century. It had changed substantially from Old English, but several changes were yet to take place before the language took on its modern form. Most significantly, the vowel sounds of Chaucer's time were very different from those we hear in similar words today. Chaucer lived in what would have sounded like a “hoos,” with his “weef,” and “hay” might drink a bottle of “weena” with “heer” by the light of the “mona.” In the two hundred years, from 1400 to 1600, that separated Chaucer and Shakespeare, the sounds of English underwent a substantial change known as the “Great Vowel Shift.” The effects of this general raising of long vowel sounds (such as [o:] moving up to [u:], as in *mo⁻na* → moon) made the pronunciation of Early Modern English, beginning around 1500, significantly different from earlier periods. The introduction of printing in 1476 brought about significant changes, but because the printers tended to standardize existing pronunciations in the spelling of words (e.g. knee, gnaw), later pronunciation changes are often not reflected in the way



Modern English (after 1700) is written. Influences from the outside, such as the borrowed words from Norman French or Old Norse that we have already noted, are examples of external change in the language. There are also other types of changes that occurred within the historical development of English (and other languages) that don't seem to be caused by outside factors. In the following sections, we will look at some of these processes of internal change.

Sound changes

In a number of changes from Middle to Modern English, some sounds disappeared from the pronunciation of certain words, in a process simply described as sound loss. The initial [h] of many Old English words was lost, as in hlud → loud and hlaford → lord. Some words lost sounds, but kept the spelling, resulting in the “silent letters” of contemporary written English. Word-initial velar stops [k] and [g] are no longer pronounced before nasals [n], but we still write the words knee and gnaw with the remnants of earlier pronunciations. Another example is a velar fricative [x] that was used in the older pronunciation of night as [nixt] (closer to the Modern German pronunciation of Nacht), but is absent in the contemporary form night, as [naɪt]. A remnant of this sound is still present in some dialects, as at the end of the Scottish word loch, but it is no longer a consonant.

Modern English speech.

The sound change known as metathesis involves a reversal in position of two sounds in a word. This type of reversal is illustrated in the changed versions of these words from their earlier forms. acsian → ask frist → first brinnan → beornan (burn) bridd → bird hros → horse wæps → wasp The cowboy who pronounces the expression pretty good as something close to purty good is producing a similar example of metathesis as a dialect variant within Modern English. In some American English dialects, the form aks, as in I aksedhim already, can still be heard instead of ask. The reversal of position in metathesis can sometimes occur between non-adjoining sounds. The Spanish word palabra is derived from the Latin parabola through the reversal of the [l] and [r] sounds. The pattern is exemplified in the following set.



Latin Spanish

miraculum → milagro (“miracle”)

parabola → palabra (“word”)

periculum → peligro (“danger”)

Another type of sound change, known as epenthesis, involves the addition of a sound to the middle of a word. æmtig → empty spinel → spindle timr → timber

The addition of a [p] sound after the nasal [m], as in empty, can also be heard in some speakers’ pronunciation of something as “sumpthing.” Anyone who pronounces the word film as if it were “filum,” or arithmetic as “arithametic,” is producing examples of epenthesis in Modern English. One other type of sound change worth noting, though not found in English, occurs in the development of other languages. It involves the addition of a sound to the beginning of a word and is called prothesis. It is a common feature in the evolution of some forms from Latin to Spanish, as in these examples. schola → escuela (“school”) spiritus → espí ritu (“spirit”) Spanish speakers who are starting to learn English as a second language will some- times put a prothetic vowel at the beginning of some English words, with the result that words like strange and story may sound like “estrange” and “estory.”

Syntactic changes

Some noticeable differences between the structure of sentences in Old and Modern English involve word order. In Old English texts, we find the Subject-Verb-Object order most common in Modern English, but we can also find a number of different orders that are no longer used. For example, the subject could follow the verb, as in ferde he (“he traveled”), and the object could be placed before the verb, as in he hinegeseah (“he saw him”), or at the beginning of the sentence, as in him man ne sealde (“no man gave [any] to him”). In the last example, the use of the negative also differs from Modern English, since the sequence *not gave (ne sealde) is no longer grammatical. A “double negative” construction was also possible, as in the following example, where both ne (“not”) and næfre (“never”) are used with the same verb. We would now say You never gave rather than *You not gave never. and ne sealdestþu me næfre a n ticcen and not gave you me never a kid However, the most sweeping change in the form of English sentences was the loss of a large number of inflectional suffixes from many parts of speech. Notice that, in the previous examples, the



forms *sealde* (“he gave”) and *sealdest* (“you gave”) are differentiated by inflectional suffixes (-e, -est) that are no longer used in Modern English. Nouns, adjectives, articles and pronouns all had different inflectional forms according to their grammatical function in the sentence.

Semantic changes

The most obvious way in which Modern English differs from Old English is in the number of borrowed words that have come into the language since the Old English period. Less obviously, many words have ceased to be used. Since we no longer carry swords (most of us, at least), the word *foin*, meaning “the thrust of a sword,” is no longer heard. A common Old English word for “man” was *were*, but it has fallen out of use, except in horror films where the compound *werewolf* occasionally appears. A number of expressions such as *lo*, *verily* or *egad* are immediately recognized as belonging to a much earlier period, along with certain medieval-sounding names such as *Bertha*, *Egbert* and *Percival*. Two other processes are described as “broadening” and “narrowing” of meaning.

An example of broadening of meaning is the change from *holy day* as a religious feast to the very general break from work called a holiday. We have broadened the use of *foda* (fodder for animals) to talk about all kinds of food. Old English words such as *luflic* (“loving”) and *hræd* (“quick”) not only went through sound changes, they also developed more complex evaluative meanings (“wonderful” and “preferentially”), as in their modern uses: That’s a lovely idea, but I’d rather have dinner at home tonight. Another example is the modern use of the word *dog*. We use it very generally to refer to all breeds, but in its older form (Old English *docga*), it was only used for one particular breed. The reverse process, called narrowing, has overtaken the Old English word *hund*, once used for any kind of dog, but now, as *hound*, used only for some specific breeds.

Another example is *mete*, once used for any kind of food, which has in its modern form *meat* become restricted to only some specific types. The Old English version of the word *wife* could be used to refer to any woman, but has narrowed in its application nowadays to only married women. A different kind of narrowing can lead to a negative meaning for some words, such as *vulgar* (which used to mean simply “ordinary”) and *naughty* (which used to mean “having nothing”).



Diachronic and synchronic variation

None of these changes happened overnight. They were gradual and probably difficult to discern while they were in progress. Although some changes can be linked to major social changes caused by wars, invasions and other upheavals, the most pervasive source of change in language seems to be in the continual process of cultural transmission. Each new generation has to find a way of using the language of the previous generation. In this unending process whereby each individual child has to “recreate” the language of the community, there is an unavoidable propensity to pick up some elements exactly and others only approximately. There is also the occasional desire to be different. Given this tenuous transmission process, it should be expected that languages will not remain stable and that change and variation are inevitable. In this chapter, we have concentrated on variation in language viewed diachronically, that is, from the historical perspective of change through time. The type of variation that can be viewed synchronically, that is, in terms of differences within one language in different places and among different groups at the same time

Language and Regional variation

Accent and dialect

Whether we think we speak a standard variety of English or not, we all speak with an accent. It is a myth that some speakers have accents while others do not. We might feel that some speakers have very distinct or easily recognized types of accent while others may have more subtle or less noticeable accents, but every language-user speaks with an accent. Technically, the term “accent” is restricted to the description of aspects of pronunciation that identify where an individual speaker is from, regionally or socially. It is different from the term dialect, which is used to describe features of grammar and vocabulary as well as aspects of pronunciation. We recognize that the sentence You don’t know what you’re talking about will generally “look” the same whether spoken with an American accent or a Scottish accent. Both speakers will be using forms associated with Standard English, but have different pronunciations. However, this next sentence – Ye dinnae ken whit yer haverin’ aboot – has the same meaning as the first, but has been written out in an approximation of what a person who speaks one dialect of Scottish English might say. There are differences in pronunciation (e.g. whit, aboot), but there are also examples of different vocabulary (e.g. ken, haverin’) and a different grammatical form (dinnae). While differences in vocabulary are often easily recognized, dialect variations in the



meaning of grammatical constructions are less frequently documented. In the following example (from Trudgill, 1983) two British English speaking visitors (B and C) and a local Irish English speaker (A) are involved in a conversation in Donegal,

Ireland.

A: How long are youse here?

B: Till after Easter.

(Speaker A looks puzzled.)

C: We came on Sunday.

A: Ah. Youse're here a while then.

It seems that the construction How long are youse here?, in speaker A's dialect, is used with a meaning close to the structure "How long have you been here?" referring to past time. Speaker B, however, answers as if the question was referring to future time ("How long are you going to be here?"). When speaker C answers with a past time response (We came on Sunday), speaker A acknowledges it and repeats his use of a present tense (Youse're here) to refer to past time. Note that the dialect form youse (= "you" plural) seems to be understood by the visitors though it is unlikely to be part of their own dialect.

Dialectology

Despite occasional difficulties, there is a general impression of mutual intelligibility among many speakers of different dialects of English. This is one of the criteria used in the study of dialects, or dialectology, to distinguish between two different dialects of the same language (whose speakers can usually understand each other) and two different languages (whose speakers can't usually understand each other). This is not the only, or the most reliable, way of identifying dialects, but it is helpful in establishing the fact that each different dialect, like each language, is equally worthy of analysis. It is important to recognize, from a linguistic point of view, that none of the varieties of a language is inherently "better" than any other. They are simply different. From a social point of view, however, some varieties do become more prestigious. In fact, the variety that develops as the standard language has usually been one socially prestigious dialect, originally associated with a center of economic and political power (e.g. London for British English and Paris for French). Yet, there always continue to be other varieties of a language spoken in different regions.



Regional dialects

The existence of different regional dialects is widely recognized and often the source of some humor for those living in different regions. Going beyond stereotypes, those involved in the serious investigation of regional dialects have devoted a lot of survey research to the identification of consistent features of speech found in one geographical area compared to another. These dialect surveys often involve painstaking attention to detail and tend to operate with very specific criteria in identifying acceptable informants. After all, it is important to know if the person whose speech you are recording really is a typical representative of the region's dialect. Consequently, the informants in the major dialect surveys of the twentieth century tended to be NORMS or "non-mobile, older, rural, male speakers." Such speakers were selected because it was believed that they were less likely to have influences from outside the region in their speech. One unfortunate consequence of using such criteria is that the resulting dialect description tends to be more accurate of a period well before the time of investigation. Nevertheless, the detailed information obtained has provided the basis for a number of Linguistic Atlases of whole countries (e.g. England) and regions (e.g. the Upper Midwest area of the United States).

Isoglosses and dialect boundaries

We can look at some examples of regional variation found in a survey that resulted in the Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest of the United States. One of the aims of a survey of this type is to find a number of significant differences in the speech of those living in different areas and to be able to chart where the boundaries are, in dialect terms, between those areas. If it is found, for example, that the vast majority of informants in one area say they carry things home from the store in a paper bag while the majority in another area say they use a paper sack, then it is usually possible to draw a line across a map separating the two areas, as shown on the accompanying illustration. This line is called an isogloss and represents a boundary between the areas with regard to that one particular linguistic item. If a very similar distribution is found for another two items, such as a preference for pail to the north and bucket to the south, then another isogloss, probably overlapping the first, can be drawn on the map. When a number of isoglosses come together in this way, a more solid line, indicating a dialect boundary, can be drawn.



The dialect continuum

Another note of caution is required with regard to dialect boundaries. The drawing of isoglosses and dialect boundaries is quite useful in establishing a broad view of regional dialects, but it tends to obscure the fact that, at most dialect boundary areas, one dialect or language variety merges into another. Keeping this in mind, we can view regional variation as existing along a dialect continuum rather than as having sharp breaks from one region to the next. A very similar type of continuum can occur with related languages existing on either side of a political border. As you travel from Holland into Germany, you will find concentrations of Dutch speakers giving way to areas near the border where “Dutch” may sound more like “Deutsch” because the Dutch dialects and the German dialects are less clearly differentiated. Then, as you travel into Germany, greater concentrations of distinctly German speakers occur. Speakers who move back and forth across this border area, using different varieties with some ease, may be described as bidialectal (i.e. “speaking two dialects”). Most of us grow up with some form of bidialectalism, speaking one dialect “in the street” among family and friends, and having to learn another dialect “in school.” However, in some places, there are different languages used in the street and in school. When we talk about people knowing two distinct languages, we describe them as bilingual.

Bilingualism and diglossia

In many countries, regional variation is not simply a matter of two (or more) dialects of a single language, but can involve two (or more) quite distinct and different languages. Canada, for example, is an officially bilingual country, with both French and English as official languages. This recognition of the linguistic rights of the country’s French speakers, largely in Quebec, did not come about without a lot of political upheaval. For most of its history, Canada was essentially an English-speaking country, with a French-speaking minority group. In such a situation, bilingualism at the level of the individual tends to be a feature of the minority group. In this form of bilingualism, a member of a minority group grows up in one linguistic community, mainly speaking one language (e.g. Welsh in Britain or Spanish in the United States), but learns another language (e.g. English) in order to take part in the larger dominant linguistic community. Indeed, many members of linguistic minorities can live out their entire lives without ever seeing their native language appear in the public domain. Sometimes



political activism can change that. It was only after English notices and signs were frequently defaced, or replaced by scribbled Welsh-language versions, that bilingual (English–Welsh) signs came into widespread use in Wales. Many henoed never expected to see their first language on public signs in Wales, as illustrated in the accompanying photograph, though they may wonder why everyone is being warned about them.

Individual bilingualism, however, doesn't have to be the result of political dominance by a group using a different language. It can simply be the result of having two parents who speak different languages. If a child simultaneously acquires the French spoken by her mother and the English spoken by her father, then the distinction between the two languages may not even be noticed by the child. There will simply be two ways of talking according to the person being talked to. However, even in this type of bilingualism, one language tends eventually to become the dominant one, with the other in a subordinate role. A rather special situation involving two distinct varieties of a language, called diglossia, exists in some countries. In diglossia, there is a "low" variety, acquired locally and used for everyday affairs, and a "high" or special variety, learned in school and used for important matters. A type of diglossia exists in Arabic-speaking countries where the high variety (Classical Arabic) is used in formal lectures, serious political events and especially in religious discussions. The low variety is the local version of the language, such as Egyptian Arabic or Lebanese Arabic. Through a long period in European history, a diglossic situation existed with Latin as the high variety and one of the local languages of Europe (early versions of Modern Italian, French and Spanish) the low variety or "vernacular"

Language planning

Perhaps because bilingualism in contemporary Europe and North America tends to be found mostly among minority groups, many countries are often assumed to be monolingual. For many of those residents who are only capable of speaking one language (English), the United States would indeed seem to be a monolingual country. For others, it clearly is not, because they live in large communities where English is not the first language of the home. As one example, the majority of the population in San Antonio, Texas, will be more likely to listen to radio broadcasts in Spanish than in English. This simple fact has quite large repercussions in terms of the organization of local representative government and



the educational system. Should elementary school teaching take place in Spanish or English?

Consider a similar question in the context of Guatemala, a country in Central America, where there are twenty-six Mayan languages spoken, as well as Spanish. If, in this situation, Spanish is selected as the language of education, are all those Mayan speakers put at an early educational disadvantage within the society? Questions of this type require answers on the basis of some type of language planning. Government, legal and educational organizations in many countries have to plan which variety or varieties of the languages spoken in the country are to be used for official business. In Israel, despite the fact that it was not the most widely used language among the population, Hebrew was chosen as the official government language. In India, the choice was Hindi, yet in many non-Hindi-speaking regions, there were riots against this decision. There were “National Language Wars” in the Philippines before different groups could agree on the name of the national language (Filipino). The process of language planning may be seen in a better light when the full series of stages is implemented over a number of years. The adoption of Swahili as the national language of Tanzania in East Africa may serve as a good example. There still exist a large number of other languages, as well as the colonial vestiges of English, but the educational, legal and government systems have gradually introduced Swahili as the official language. The process of “selection” (choosing an official language) is followed by “codification,” in which basic grammars, dictionaries and written models are used to establish the standard variety. The process of “elaboration” follows, with the standard variety being developed for use in all aspects of social life and the appearance of a body of literary work written in the standard. The process of “implementation” is largely a matter of government attempts to encourage use of the standard, and “acceptance” is the final stage when a substantial majority of the population have come to use the standard and to think of it as the national language, playing a part in not only social, but also national identity.

Pidgins and creoles

In some areas, the standard chosen may be a variety that originally had no native speakers in the country. For example, in Papua New Guinea, a lot of official business is conducted in TokPisin. This language is now used by over a million people, but it began many years earlier as a kind of “contact” language called a pidgin. A pidgin is a variety of a language that developed for some



practical purpose, such as trading, among groups of people who had a lot of contact, but who did not know each other's languages. As such, it would have no native speakers. The origin of the term "pidgin" is thought to be from a Chinese version of the English word "business." A pidgin is described as an "English pidgin" if English is the lexifier language, that is, the main source of words in the pidgin. It doesn't mean that those words will have the same pronunciation or meaning as in the source. For example, the word gras has its origins in the English word "grass," but in TokPisin it also came to be used for "hair." It is part of mausgras ("moustache") and grasbilongfes ("beard"). There are several English pidgins still used today. They are characterized by an absence of any complex grammatical morphology and a somewhat limited vocabulary. Inflectional suffixes such as -s (plural) and -'s (possessive) on nouns in Standard English are rare in pidgins, while structures like tubuk ("two books") and digyal place ("the girl's place") are common. Functional morphemes often take the place of inflectional morphemes found in the source language. For example, instead of changing the form of you to your, as in the English phrase your book, English-based pidgins use a form like bilong, and change the word order to produce phrases like buk bilong yu. The syntax of pidgins can be quite unlike the languages from which terms were borrowed and modified, as can be seen in this example from an earlier stage of Tok

Pisin. Baimbaihed bilong yui-arrait gain by and by head belong you he alright again "Your head will soon get well again" There are believed to be between six and twelve million people still using pidgin languages and between ten and seventeen million using descendants from pidgins called "creoles." When a pidgin develops beyond its role as a trade or contact language and becomes the first language of a social community, it is described as a creole. TokPisin is now a creole. Although still locally referred to as "Pidgin," the language spoken by a large number of people in Hawai'i is also a creole, technically known as Hawai'i Creole English. A creole initially develops as the first language of children growing up in a pidgin-using community and becomes more complex as it serves more communicative purposes. Thus, unlike pidgins, creoles have large numbers of native speakers and are not restricted at all in their uses. A French creole is spoken by the majority of the population in Haiti and English creoles are used in Jamaica and Sierra Leone. The separate vocabulary elements of a pidgin can become grammatical elements in a creole. The form baimbaiyu go ("by and by you go") in early TokPisin gradually shortened to baiyu go, and finally to yubigo, with a grammatical structure not unlike that of its English translation equivalent, "you will go." The post-creole continuum In many contemporary situations where



creoles evolved, there is usually evidence of another process at work. Just as there was development from a pidgin to a creole, known as creolization, there is now often a retreat from the use of the creole by those who have greater contact with a standard variety of the language. Where education and greater social prestige are associated with a “higher” variety (e.g. British English in Jamaica), a number of speakers will tend to use fewer creole forms and structures. This process, known as decreolization, leads at one extreme to a variety that is closer to the external standard model and leaves, at the other extreme, a basic variety with more local creole features. Between these two extremes may be a range of slightly different varieties, some with many and some with fewer creole features. This range of varieties, evolving after (= “post”) the creole has come into existence, is called the post-creole continuum.

So, in Jamaica, one speaker may say a fi mi bukdat, using the basic creole variety, another may put it as iz mi buk, using a variety with fewer creole features, and yet another may choose it’s my book, using a variety with only some pronunciation features of the creole, or a “creole accent.” It is also very common for speakers to be able to use a range of varieties in different situations. We would predict that these differences would be tied very much to social values and social identity. In the course of discussing language varieties in terms of regional differences, we have excluded, in a rather artificial way, the complex social factors that are also at work in determining language variation.

A speech community

is a group of people who share a set of norms and expectations regarding the use of language. The study of the linguistic features that have social relevance for participants in those speech communities is called “sociolinguistics.”

Language and Social Variation

Sociolinguistics

The term sociolinguistics is used generally for the study of the relationship between language and society. This is a broad area of investigation that developed through the interaction of linguistics with a number of other academic disciplines. It has strong connections with anthropology through the study of language and culture, and with sociology through the investigation of the role language plays in the organization of social groups and institutions. It is also tied to social psychology, particularly with regard to how attitudes and perceptions are



expressed and how in-group and out-group behaviors are identified. We use all these connections when we try to analyze language from a social perspective.

Social dialects

Whereas the traditional study of regional dialects tended to concentrate on the speech of people in rural areas, the study of social dialects has been mainly concerned with speakers in towns and cities. In the social study of dialect, it is social class that is mainly used to define groups of speakers as having something in common. The two main groups are generally identified as “middle class,” those who have more years of education and perform non-manual work, and “working class,” those who have fewer years of education and perform manual work of some kind. So, when we refer to “working-class speech,” we are talking about a social dialect. The terms “upper” and “lower” are used to further subdivide the groups, mainly on an economic basis, making “upper-middle-class speech” another type of social dialect or sociolect. As in all dialect studies, only certain features of language use are treated as relevant in the analysis of social dialects. These features are pronunciations, words or structures that are regularly used in one form by working-class speakers and in another form by middle-class speakers. In Edinburgh, Scotland, for example, the word home is regularly pronounced as [heim], as if rhyming with name, among lower-working-class speakers, and as [hom], as if rhyming with foam, among middle-class speakers. It’s a small difference in pronunciation, but it’s an indicator of social status. A more familiar example might be the verb ain’t, as in I ain’t finished yet, which is generally used more often in working-class speech than in middle-class speech. When we look for other examples of language use that might be characteristic of a social dialect, we treat class as the social variable and the pronunciation or word as the linguistic variable. We can then try to investigate the extent to which there is systematic variation involving the two variables by counting how often speakers in each class use each version of the linguistic variable. This isn’t usually an all-or-nothing situation, so studies of social dialects typically report how often speakers in a particular group use a certain form rather than find that only one group or the other uses the form.

Education and occupation

Although the unique circumstances of every life result in each of us having an individual way of speaking, a personal dialect or idiolect, we generally tend to sound like others with whom we share similar educational backgrounds and/or



occupations. Among those who leave the educational system at an early age, there is a general pattern of using certain forms that are relatively infrequent in the speech of those who go on to complete college. Expressions such as those contained in *Them boys threwed somethin'* or *It wasn't us what done it* are generally associated with speakers who have spent less time in education. Those who spend more time in the educational system tend to have more features in their spoken language that derive from a lot of time spent with the written language, so that *threw* is more likely than *throwed* and *who* occurs more often than *what* in references to people. The observation that some teacher "talks like a book" is possibly a reflection of an extreme form of this influence from the written language after years in the educational system. As adults, the outcome of our time in the educational system is usually reflected in our occupation and socio-economic status. The way bank executives, as opposed to window cleaners, talk to each other usually provides linguistic evidence for the significance of these social variables. In the 1960s, sociolinguist William Labov combined elements from place of occupation and socio-economic status by looking at pronunciation differences among salespeople in three New York City department stores (see Labov, 2006). They were Saks Fifth Avenue (with expensive items, upper-middle-class status), Macy's (medium-priced, middle-class status) and Klein's (with cheaper items, working-class status). Labov went into each of these stores and asked salespeople specific questions, such as *Where are the women's shoes?*, in order to elicit answers with the expression *fourth floor*. This expression contains two opportunities for the pronunciation (or not) of postvocalic /r/, that is, the /r/ sound after a vowel. Strictly speaking, it is /r/ after a vowel and before a consonant or the end of a word.

In the department stores, there was a regular pattern in the answers. The higher the socio-economic status of the store, the more /r/ sounds were produced, and the lower the status, the fewer /r/ sounds were produced by those who worked there. So, the frequency of occurrence of this linguistic variable (r) could mark the speech samples as upper middle class versus middle class versus working class. Other studies confirmed this regular pattern in the speech of New Yorkers. Pronunciations represented by *sittin'* and *anddrinkin'* are typically associated with working-class speech. Another social marker is called "[h]-dropping," which makes the words *at* and *hat* sound the same. It occurs at the beginning of words and can result in utterances that sound like *I'm so 'ungry I could eat an 'orse*. In contemporary English, this feature is associated with lower class and less education. It seems to have had a similar association as a social marker for Charles Dickens, writing in the middle of the nineteenth century. He used it as a



way of indicating that the character Uriah Heep, in the novel David Copperfield, was from a lower class, as in this example (from Mugglestone, 1995). “I am well aware that I am the umblest person going,” said Uriah Heep, modestly; “... My mother is likewise a very umble person. We live in a numble abode, Master Copperfield, but we have much to be thankful for. My father’s former calling was umble.”

Percentages of groups pronouncing postvocalic /r/

Social class New York City Reading

Upper middle class 32 0

Lower middle class 20 28

Upper working class 12 44

Lower working class 0 49

Speech style and style-shifting

In his department store study, Labov included another subtle element that allowed him not only to investigate the type of social stratification illustrated in Table 19.1, but also speech style as a social feature of language use. The most basic distinction in speech style is between formal uses and informal uses. Formal style is when we pay more careful attention to how we’re speaking and informal style is when we pay less attention. They are sometimes described as “careful style” and “casual style.” A change from one to the other by an individual is called style-shifting. When Labov initially asked the salespeople where certain items were, he assumed they were answering in an informal manner. After they answered his question, Labov then pretended not to have heard and said, “Excuse me?” in order to elicit a repetition of the same expression, which was pronounced with more attention to being clear. This was taken as a representative sample of the speaker’s more careful style. When speakers repeated the phrase fourth floor, the frequency of postvocalic /r/ increased in all groups. The most significant increase in frequency was among the Macy’s group. In a finding that has been confirmed in other studies, middle-class speakers are much more likely to shift their style of speaking significantly in the direction of the upper middle class when they are using a careful style. It is possible to use more elaborate elicitation procedures to create more gradation in the category of style. Asking someone to read a short text out loud will result in more attention to speech than simply asking them to answer some questions in an interview. Asking that same individual to read out loud a list of individual words taken from the text will result in even



more careful pronunciation of those words and hence a more formal version of the individual's speech style. When Labov analyzed the way New Yorkers performed in these elicitation procedures, he found a general overall increase in postvocalic /r/ in all groups as the task required more attention to speech. Among the lower-middle-class speakers, the increase was so great in the pronunciation of the word lists that their frequency of postvocalic /r/ was actually higher than among upper-middle-class speakers. As other studies have confirmed, when speakers in a middle-status group try to use a prestige form associated with a higher-status group in a formal situation, they have a tendency to overuse the form.

Prestige

In discussing style-shifting, we introduced the idea of a “prestige” form as a way of explaining the direction in which certain individuals change their speech. When that change is in the direction of a form that is more frequent in the speech of those perceived to have higher social status, we are dealing with overt prestige, or status that is generally recognized as “better” or more positively valued in the larger community. There is, however, another phenomenon called covert prestige. This “hidden” status of a speech style as having positive value may explain why certain groups do not exhibit style-shifting to the same extent as other groups. For example, we might ask why many lower-working-class speakers do not change their speech style from casual to careful as radically as lower-middle-class speakers. The answer may be that they value the features that mark them as members of their social group and consequently avoid changing them in the direction of features associated with another social group. They may value group solidarity (i.e. sounding like those around them) more than upward mobility (i.e. sounding like those above them). Among younger speakers in the middle class, there is often covert prestige attached to many features of pronunciation and grammar (I ain't doin' nuttin' rather than I'm not doing anything) that are more often associated with the speech of lower-status groups.

Speech accommodation

As we look more closely at variation in speech style, we can see that it is not only a function of speakers' social class and attention to speech, but it is also influenced by their perception of their listeners. This type of variation is sometimes described in terms of “audience design,” but is more generally known as speech accommodation, defined as our ability to modify our speech style toward or away from the perceived style of the person(s) we're talking to. We can



adopt a speech style that attempts to reduce social distance, described as convergence, and use forms that are similar to those used by the person we're talking to. In the following examples (from Holmes, 2008), a teenage boy is asking to see some holiday photographs. In the first example, he is talking to his friend, and in the second example, he is talking to his friend's mother. The request is essentially the same, but the style is different as the speaker converges with the perceived speech style of the other. C'mon Tony, gizzalook, gizzalook Excuse me. Could I have a look at your photos too, Mrs. Hall? In contrast, when a speech style is used to emphasize social distance between speakers, the process is called divergence. We can make our speech style diverge from another's by using forms that are distinctly different. In the third line of the following example, the Scottish teenager shifts to a speech style with features that differ substantially from the first line.

TEENAGER: I can't do it, sir.

TEACHER: Oh, come on. If I can do it, you can too.

TEENAGER: Look, I cannae dae it so ...

The sudden divergence in style seems to be triggered not only by a need to add emphasis to his repeated statement, but also by the "We're the same" claim of his teacher. This teenager is using speech style to mark that they are not the same.

Register and jargon

Another influence on speech style that is tied to social identity derives from register. A register is a conventional way of using language that is appropriate in a specific context, which may be identified as situational (e.g. in church), occupational (e.g. among lawyers) or topical (e.g. talking about language). We can recognize specific features that occur in the religious register (Ye shall be blessed by Him in times of tribulation), the legal register (The plaintiff is ready to take the witness stand) and even the linguistics register (In the morphology of this dialect there are fewer inflectional suffixes).

One of the defining features of a register is the use of jargon, which is special technical vocabulary (e.g. plaintiff, suffix) associated with a specific area of work or interest. In social terms, jargon helps to create and maintain connections among those who see themselves as "insiders" in some way and to exclude "outsiders." This exclusive effect of specialized jargon, as in the medical register (e.g. Zanoxyn is a nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drug for arthritis, bursitis and tendonitis), often leads to complaints about what may seem like "jargonitis."



Slang

Whereas jargon is specialized vocabulary used by those inside established social groups, often defined by professional status (e.g. legal jargon), slang is more typically used among those who are outside established higher-status groups. Slang, or “colloquial speech,” describes words or phrases that are used instead of more everyday terms among younger speakers and other groups with special interests. The word bucks (for dollars or money) has been a slang expression for more than a hundred years, but the addition of mega- (“a lot of”) in megabucks is a more recent innovation, along with dead presidents (whose pictures are on paper money) and benjamins (from Benjamin Franklin, on \$100 bills). Like clothing and music, slang is an aspect of social life that is subject to fashion, especially among adolescents. It can be used by those inside a group who share ideas and attitudes as a way of distinguishing themselves from others. As a marker of group identity during a limited stage of life such as early adolescence, slang expressions can “grow old” rather quickly. Older forms for “really good” such as groovy, hip and super were replaced by awesome, rad and wicked which gave way to dope, kickass and phat. A hunk (“physically attractive man”) became a hottie and instead of something being the pits (“really bad”), the next generation thought it was a bummer or said, That sucks!. The difference in slang use between groups divided into older and younger speakers shows that age is another important factor involved in social variation. However, the use of slang varies within the younger social group, as illustrated by the use of obscenities or taboo terms. Taboo terms are words and phrases that people avoid for reasons related to religion, politeness and prohibited behavior. They are often swear words, typically “bleeped” in public broadcasting (What the bleep are you doing, you little bleep!) or “starred” in print (You stupid f***ing a**hole!). In a study of the linguistic differences among “Jocks” (higher status) and “Burnouts” (lower status) in Detroit high schools, Eckert (2000) reported the regular use of taboo words among both males and females in the lower-status group. However, among the higher-status group, males used taboo words only with other males, while females didn’t seem to use them at all. Social class divisions, at least in the use of slang, are already well established during adolescence.

African American English

In much of the preceding discussion, we have been reviewing research on social variation based mainly on examples from British English and what we might call “European” American English. Labeling one general social variety according to the historical origins of the speakers allows us to put it in contrast



with another major variety called African American English (AAE). Also known as Black English or Ebonics, AAE is a variety used by many (not all) African Americans in many different regions of the USA. It has a number of characteristic features that, taken together, form a distinct set of social markers.

In much the same way as large geographical barriers between groups foster linguistic differences in regional dialects, social barriers such as discrimination and segregation serve to create marked differences between social dialects. In the case of AAE, those different features have often been stigmatized as “bad” language, following a regular pattern whereby the social practices, especially speech, of dominated groups are treated as “abnormal” by those dominant groups who are in charge of defining “normal.” Although AAE speakers continue to experience the effects of discrimination, their social dialect often has covert prestige among younger speakers in other social groups, particularly with regard to popular music, and certain features of AAE may be used in expressions of social identity by many who are not African American.

Vernacular language

The form of AAE that has been most studied is usually described as African American Vernacular English (AAVE). The term “vernacular” has been used since the Middle Ages, first to describe local European languages (low prestige) in contrast to Latin (high prestige), then to characterize any non-standard spoken version of a language used by lower status groups. So, the vernacular is a general expression for a kind of social dialect, typically spoken by a lower-status group, which is treated as “non-standard” because of marked differences from the “standard” language (As the vernacular language of African Americans, AAVE shares a number of features with other non-standard varieties, such as “Chicano English,” spoken in some Hispanic American communities. Varieties of what has been called “Asian American English” are also characterized by some of the pronunciation features described in studies of this vernacular.

The sounds of a vernacular

A pervasive phonological feature in AAVE and other English vernaculars is the tendency to reduce final consonant clusters, so that words ending in two consonants (left hand) are often pronounced as if there is only one (lefhan). This can affect the pronunciation of past tense -ed forms in certain contexts, with expressions such as iced tea and I passed the test sounding like ice tea and I pass the tess. Initial dental consonants (think, that) are frequently pronounced as alveolar stops (tink, dat), with the result that the definite article (the) is heard as



[də], as in You da man!. Other morphological features, such as possessive -'s (John's girlfriend) and third person singular -s (she loves him), are not typically used (John girlfriend, she love him). Also, when a phrase contains an obvious indication of plural number, the plural -s marker (guys, friends) is usually not included (two guy, one of my friend).

The grammar of a vernacular

It is typically in aspects of grammar that AAVE and other vernaculars are most stigmatized as being “illogical” or “sloppy.” One frequently criticized element is the double negative construction, as in He don't know nothin or I ain't afraid of no ghosts. Because the negative is expressed twice, these structures have been condemned as “illogical” (since one negative supposedly cancels the other). Yet, this feature of AAVE can be found in many other English dialects and in other languages such as French: *il nesaitrien* (literally, “he not knows nothing”). It was also common in Old English: *Ic nahtsingan ne cuðe* (literally, “I not sing not could”). There is nothing inherently illogical about these structures, which can extend to multiple negatives, allowing greater emphasis on the negative aspect of the message, as in He don't never do nothin. The “sloppy” criticism focuses on the frequent absence of forms of the verb “to be” (are, is) in AAVE expressions such as You crazy or She workin now. It may be more accurate to say that wherever are and is can be contracted in the casual style of other varieties (You're, She's), they are not articulated in AAVE. Formal styles of Standard English require are and is in such expressions, but many regional varieties do not. Nor do many other languages such as Arabic and Russian require forms of “to be” in similar contexts. This feature of AAVE speech can't be “sloppy” any more than it would be “sloppy” in normal Arabic or Russian speech. While AAVE speakers don't include the auxiliary verb is in expressions such as She workin now, to describe what is happening currently, they can use be (not is), as in She be workin downtown now, as a way of expressing habitual action. That is, the presence or absence of be distinguishes between what is a recurring activity or state and what is currently happening. To talk about a habitual action that started or happened in the past, AAVE uses bin (typically stressed), not was, as in She bin workin there. In effect, the use of habitual be or bin, and the absence of forms of “to be” in present state expressions, are all consistent features in the grammar of AAVE. The negative versions of these verbs are formed with don't (not doesn't) and the verb is not used with a contracted negative. So, in AAVE, She don't be workin is grammatical, whereas *She doesn't be workin and *She ben'tworkin would be considered ungrammatical..